Two DISCOURSES,

I. Of God, and His *Providence.*
II. Of Christ, His *Miracles* and *Doctrine.*

Out of the Illustrious

HUGO GROTIUS.

With *Annotations*, and the Authours Life.

An *Appendix* containing his Judgement in sundry points controverted.

By the Translator of the same Author, *De Imperio*, &c.

The second Edition corrected and enlarged.

Nec omnia, nec nihil.

LONDON,

Printed by *A. Miller* for *William Lee* at the *Turks Head* in *Fleet-street.* 1653.

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To his Honoured Friend, M. *Iho. Williams* Bariſter of the Temple.

Worthy SIR,

Preſent unto you the two principall Diſcourſes, of the ſix which my Authour wrote in Defence of Chriſtian Religion. Having read what was afore written by others, He choſe rather to uſe his own judgement in compoſing a new Treatiſe (preſerving the liberty of his minde, as himſelf ſpeaketh, when his body was under reſtraint) then to beſtow his pains in tranſlating what was formerly done by Morney, Vives, *and others. For although they*

have pleaded the Cauſe of Religion with very much learning and eloquence, yet my Authours opinion was, that Truth is to be maintained only with Truth, and ſuch Truth as himſelf acknowledged. For in vain ſhould he endeavour to beget in other men a belief of thoſe things which himſelf did not beleeve. Wherefore he hath choſen both out of the old and new Writers, what was moſt probable to Him; not alledging Arguments which he judged of no weight, nor the Authority of Books, which he either certainly knew, or juſtly ſuſpected to be ſuppoſititious. The Arguments if moſt value, being ſelected, and at firſt expreſſed in Dutch verſe (for the uſe eſpecially of the Low-countrey Sea-men and Merchants, that trade with Infidels;) the Authour afterward adorned with his excellent Romane *ſtile, and dedicated to Monſieur* Bignon, *the* French *Advocate. The*

Tran-

Tranſlatour, hoping he hath not wronged the Authours ſenſe by his Engliſh, dedicateth it to you, praying that you (and all Advocates, in your noble Societies) may ever rightly judge of, and and ſincerely love the Chriſtian Religion, and lawfull Miniſters thereof: and that You, dear Sir, may live many proſperous years, the Ornament and the Muniment of your vertuous and numerous Family. To all which, in You, I gladly take this opportunity of ſhewing publickly the gratefull Minde of

Your faithfull Servant,

From *Hawling*,
on New-years
Eve, 1651.

Cl. Barksdale.

THE LIFE OF HUGO GROTIUS.

His excellent man breathed his first ayr at *Delf* in *Holland*, and more ennobled that Town by his Birth there, 4. *Eid. Apr. An.* 1583. He was the son of an ancient and illustrious House. His Grand-Father of the same name, was learned above the modell of those darker times, and well skil'd in the three principal Languges, *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew*. His Uncle, *Cornelius Grotius* was professor of the Civill

Civill Law at *Leiden*, where he flouriſhed in the good eſteem and favour of the beſt men. His Father, was *Johannes Grotius*, Curator of that Univerſity, whoſe Poems are extant, with *Lipſius*'s Letters to him, and *Douſa*'s verſes: whoſe name alſo hath adorned many learned mens Books dedicated unto him. Being bleſt with this hopeful Son, he uſed all pains and care in his good education, and cheriſhed this great Wit ſo well, that when he was but eight years old, *viz. An.* 1591. He did *fundere verſus*, make *ex tempore* verſes, and diſputed twice publikely in queſtions of Philoſophy. *An.* 1598. *æt.* 15. He travelled into *France*, in the Train of that Incomparable Perſon, *Ioannes Oldenbarneveldius* Embaſſador from the States to the *Great Henry*; and returned honoured by Royall Bounty, and the friendſhip of illuſtrious

illuſtrious men; having before that time begun to ſet forth *notes* upon the ſeven liberall Arts of *Martianus Capella*. When he had after ſtudied ſome years at *Leiden*, much endeared unto *Scaliger*, his Father fearing the young Scholar's minde ſhould, by the Amenity and delight of humane literature and Poeſie, be drawn away from more profitable employment; he was taken off, and aſcribed among the Advocates at the *Hague*, *An.* 1599. and ſoon after pleaded Cauſes. Yet did not he addict himſelf ſo much to that profeſſion, but that his *Genius* led him back and made him often reviſit his former ſtudies of Humanitie. For which, he was moſt dear to the *French* Embaſſadour *Buzanval*, to *Ianus Douſa* the Father, and many other Perſons of Honour. About this time the States of *Holland* begun to uſe his

his ſervice, in penning the Hiſtory of the moſt famous War in the whole world. Afterward *Anno* 1607. commended by the ſuffrages of the Courts, nominated by the *States*, and elected by the moſt potent Prince, the Admiration of all other Princes, *Grave Maurice*, he became *Fiſci Advocatus*: And behaved himſelf ſo well in this moſt weighty office, that he received from his ſuperiours a moſt ample teſtimony of of his diligence and integrity. Here, perceiving the Trade into *India* of great importance to his Countrey, that he might ſtirre up the ſpirits of his Countreymen thereto, He wrote a Book *De Iure Commercij Indicani*. Again, obſerving, after the Truce with the *Spaniard*, the Peace of the Common-wealth began to be diſturbed by certain dangerous Innovators, judging it to be the

duty

duty of a good Patriot, to oppoſe himſelf againſt ſuch Deſigns: and to commend unto all the preſent State, he ſet out a Diſſertation entituled, *De Antiquitate Reipub. Batavicæ.* After the death of *Elias Oldenbarneveldius*, a man not leſs noble for his good parts then his family, Our *Grotius* ſuffered himſelf to be choſen into his place, *Syndic* of *Roterdam*, and ſo was advanced from the Bar to the Bench. And then was he ſent into Great *Britain* to accommodate the difference about the *Indian* Trade; and thence he was diſmiſſed not without eminent Marks of favour from that King of Learning and Religion, and from the moſt learned men of that Iſland: together with this moſt pleaſing fruit of his journey, that he there found the great Scholar *Iſaac Caſaubon*, whom he had reverenced before at a diſtance

ſtance, and had now enjoyed a more intimate and familiar Converſation with Him.

At that time, the Church being very ſick of the Controverſies about Predeſtination, and of the contention of ſome Paſtors with the Magiſtrates about the Right of Church-Government: inſomuch that the States of *Holland* were by ſome contumelioufly reproached: Our Author thought it to be his duty to vindicate the Right of the State, and offer his medicines for the cure of thoſe Diſtempers, and ſhew the way to Peace in thoſe and other Differences that diſturbed the Chriſtian world.

Thus farre out of *Meurſius* his *Athenæ Batavæ*, a Book much tending to the Honour of that Univerſity, and may be a fit precedent to our two famous Univerſities, and to *London*, (that perhaps

perhaps may be, not improperly, ſtiled a Third Academy, and the moſt famous of All) to doe the like.

Now I confeſſe much may be added to the Life of our Authot concerning his Troubles in his Countrey, his Impriſonment, his ſtrange eſcape and preſervation, his entertainment in *France*, his employment there, as Lord Embaſſadour for the Kingdome of *Sweden* many years, his laborious and learned Books written both in his priſon and at liberty, in his private and in his publike fortune, which are in high eſtimation with all ingenious Students. But theſe things we ſhall reſerve * for our Preface to what we

*In the mean, to vindicate our Authour from the aſperſion of *Seditious*, which ſome have caſt upon him, you have here a Teſtimony of his fidelity to his Superionrs in the following publike Act, taken out of his *Votum*, pag. 83. What his doctrine was concerning Obedience to Governours, See in the Appendix.

tranſlate

tranſlate out of his *De Iure Belli & Pacis*, which we ſhall communicate to the Engliſh Reader, if that be accepted, which we have here done, and lately in our Tranſlation of his *De Imperio*, &c. This Book now mentioned was Printed at *Paris* after the Authours death, *An.* 1647. Written many years before: it was reprinted there the following year with ſome Notes of *Blondel* and an Appendix *DE IURE PLEBEIO:* but upon ſight thereof I finde no neceſſity to ſay any thing in defence of my Authours Doctrine, which I conceive to be very ſound, and worthy to be conſidered by the Rulers in every Chriſtian Common-wealth.

We will adde here a word of our Authours death. After ten years Honourable Embaſſie in *France* for the Queen of *Sweden*,

as he returned out of *Sweden* again, he fell ſick, and was taken from us, to the great loſſe of learning, at *Roſtoch*, An. Dom. 1645. *Ætat.* 64.

The Grace and Shame of Holland,
Friend of France,
Swedes *Orator, the Conquerour of Chance;*
Poet, Hiſtorian, Lawyer and Diuine,
(Reade and admire him) All in one combine.

C. B.

Teſtimonium.

NOs Scultetus, Burgimagiſtri, Scabini & Conſiliarij Urbis Delfenſis in Hollandia, Certos omnes facimus rei veræ, nempe paruiſſe coram nobis D. Iuſtum Adrichemium, ejuſdem urbis Burgimagiſtrum, D. Eobaldum Duſſium, & D. Cornelium Bereſtenium Exburgimagiſtros, & D. Ioannem Camerlinum Conſiliarium ejuſdem urbis & Adſeſſorem, qui pariter & ſinguli, rogante id D. Wilhelmo Grotio Advocato apud Curiam Hollandiæ, pro fratre ſuo D. Hugone Grotio Legato Reginæ Regnique Suedici in Gallia, declararunt, teſtatique ſunt, fide ejus

ejus jusjurandi, quod in honorum adeptione dederunt, se tanquam legatos ab hac civitate, interfuisse conventui Magnorum ac Potentum Ordinum Hollandiæ & Westfrisiæ, ei qui celebratus fuit ante Paſcha, Anni 1622. *ibique se audisse legatos qui in eo conventu civitatem Rotterodamensem referebant, disertè enunciantes, dictum D. Hugonem Grotium, quo tempore obibat munus Adsessoris, & delegati Consiliarij Ordinum Hollandiæ, ac nominatim* Anno 1618. *non aliud proposuisse, postulasse, feciſſe, quam quod conveniret cum decretis Dominorum suorum Rectorum urbis Rotterodamensis: ei quoque mandatum, illa suo loco proponere, & effecta dare, nec ulla in parte eum extra aut contra mandata feciſſe. Addidisse etiam, si ille in istis rebus peccavit, nos peccavimus, ita se testes servaret Deus. Et quia officium cujusque est veritati testimonium*

um exhibere, præſertim ubi id rogatur, propterea nos Scultetus, Burgimagiſtri, Scæbini & Conſiliarii antedicti ſigillum ad cauſas hujus civitatis, ſubter hoc actum poni juſſimus. Actum 16. Jan. An. 1637.

Subſcriptum,

J. Ophrovius.

THE STATIONER TO THE READER.

Reader,

NOw you have all that is intended for this little Volume: In Defence of Religion there is enough for reasonable men: And for the points controverted, too much perhaps, in the opinion of such as measure Truth by its distance from *Rome*. The *Epistolicall Discourse* may be printed in the same Form

Form, to be bound up with it, or to go ſingle. What remains concerning the Authour, is reſerved for the Preface to our Selections *Of Warre and Peace*; Wherein I ſhall proceed when I have taken off my hand from another peece, *Of the Hebrew Common-wealth.*

I. DISCOURSE.

Of God, and His Providence.

THE SUMMARY.

I. *THat there is a God.*

II. *That God is one.*
III. *That all perfection is in God.*
IIII. *And that infinitely.*
V. *That God is Eternall, Omnipotent, Omniſcient, and of infinite goodneſſe.*
VI. *That God is the Cauſe of all things.*
VII. *Anſwer to an Objection, concerning the Cauſe of Evill.*
VIII. *Againſt two Principles, or Firſt Cauſes.*
IX. *That the whole World is governed by God.* X. *Sub*

X. *Sublunary things as Well as celestiall.*

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XXI. *And to another Object. that there is so much Wickednesse.*

XXII. *Even to the oppression of good men many times: Which objection*

iection is retorted. 1. *Of future Iudgement.*

XXIII. *That the Soul remains after the Body, proved by tradition.*

XXIV. *No reaſon repugnant to it.*

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XXVI. *Felicity after this life. For the attaining whereof, we muſt enquire after Chriſt.*

I. DISCOURSE.

Of GOD *and his Providence.*

IT is manifeſt by Senſe, and by the Confeſſion of all the World, there are ſome things which have had beginning: but thoſe things could not give beginning to themſelves; for then they would work before they were, which is impoſſible: It follows then, that they had Original from without. Which is not only true of things which we do ſee or have ſeen, but of them alſo whence they received their Being; till at laſt we arrive at ſome Cauſe, that never had beginning, and whoſe Being is neceſſary, not contingent. And this is that which me mean by the Name of *GOD*. Again, this is made good, by the moſt apparent and unanimous Conſent of all Nations, where Barbariſm hath not quite extinguiſh'd the ſparks of Reaſon and good Manners: For, ſeeing all things that depend upon the will of man,

I. That there is a God.

are neither the ſame among all men, and are often changed: But this Notion is found every where, and is not changed by the Viciſſitude of Times (as *Ariſtotle* himſelf, a man hard of belief without Demonſtration, hath obſerved:) certainly, there muſt be ſome univerſal cauſe hereof; which can be no other, then either the Oracle of God himſelf, or Tradition derived from the firſt Parents of Mankinde. If we admit the former, the Queſtion is won: if the latter, truly no good Reaſon can be given, why we ſhould believe our firſt Parents would deceive all their Poſterity in a thing of ſo great moment. Moreover, whether we ſurvey the parts of the world long ſince known, or the new-found Lands, where (as we ſaid) any Remains of Humanity are left; this Notion appears, both among witty, and duller Nations: And, it is not credible, that either all the former could be deceived, or the latter be able to deceive. If any one oppoſe and ſay, Some few men, in ſundry Ages, have not believed, or at leaſt profeſſed they did not believe there is a God.

Obj.

Anſ. I anſwer, Seeing they were but few, and their opinion was generally rejected, ſo ſoon as their Arguments were heard, it

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is manifeſt, it was not the iſſue of right Reaſon (which is common to men) but of an innovating Spirit; like the opinion of him, who would needs have the Snow to be black; or of a corrupt minde, that, as a ſick palat, taſteth not things as they are. We may ſay this the more confidently, becauſe Hiſtories and other Writings tell us, The more any men have excelled in Vertue, the more ſtudiouſly have they preſerved this Notion of a Deity. And, That the defection from the Opinion anciently and univerſally received, proceeds from their depraved diſpoſition, for whoſe intereſt it is, there ſhould be no God to call them to account for their ungodly Doings, even hence appears; Becauſe, whatſoever hold, whether ſucceſſion of things without any beginning, or concourſe of Atoms, or whatſoever elſe; it is incumbred with no leſs, if not with greater difficulties; nor will any conſidering man find ſo much reaſon to believe it, as what we ſay. Some object, Becauſe they cannot ſee God, therefore they cannot beleeve He is. Theſe men, if they ſee any thing, ſee well enough how unworthily this is ſpoken by any man that believes he hath a Soul, which he ſees not. Neither if *Obj.* *Anſ.*

our understanding cannot comprehend the Divine Nature, must we therefore deny there is a God? For, it is a defect peculiar to inferiour things, not to be able to comprehend things superiour and more excellent. The Bruits do now conceive what Man is; much lesse, by what reason Common-wealths are instituted and governed, the courses of the Stars measured, and Shipping invented. All these things are above their capacity. Upon this, Man being advanced above the Bruits in Nobleneſſe of Nature, and that not by himself, ought to infer, That He, who had advanc't him, is also his superiour; and being so, by his excellency exceeds the narrowneſſe of Comprehension.

II. That God is one.

A God there is; we have evinced that. We come now to his Atrributes: The first whereof is Unity. That there is One God, and no more, is collected hence; Because, God (as above was said) is that which hath a Being necessary, or by it self; Now a thing is necessarily or by it self, not as it is considered in general, but as it is in act. The things in act are singular; But, if you suppose many Gods, you will finde nothing

thing in them ſingly, why they can have a neceſſary Being: nothing, why they ſhould be rather Two then Three, or Five then Ten, Moreover, the Multiplication of ſingular things of the ſame kinde, is from the fecundity of Cauſes whence they are extracted. But, of God is no Originall, no Cauſe. Farther, in ſingulars are certain ſingular proprieties, whereby they are diſtinguiſh'd: which in God, whoſe Being is neceſſary, are not needfull to be ſuppoſed. Nor indeed can you any where finde any tokens of a plurality in God. For, all things make up but one World; therein is one thing moſt beautifull, the Sunne: and in every man, one thing hath Empire over the reſt, the Minde. Beſides, if there were Two, or more Gods, working with freedom of Will, They might will things contrary, and one hinder the other from effecting his Intent: But, to ſay of God, that He may be hindred, is moſt unworthy of his Nature.

To proceed to other Attributes of God: That whatſoever is contained in the name of Perfection, is in God: Hence is underſtood; Becauſe all the

III. That all Perfection is in God.

Perfection in the World either had beginning, or not: if not, it is the Perfection of God: if it had beginning, it was from ſome Cauſe; for, nothing comes of Nothing. It follows then, the Perfections apparent in the effects, were firſt in the Cauſes, that by them the cauſes might produce their effects: And therefore all Perfection was in the firſt Cauſe. Nor could the firſt Cauſe be afterward deprived of any Perfection: not by any other; becauſe, what is eternall depends not on other things, nor ſuffers from their action; not by it ſelf; becauſe, every thing naturally deſires its own Perfection.

IV. And that infinitely.

We muſt adde, Theſe Perfections are in God infinitely. Becauſe the Attribute of every thing is limited, either by reaſon the Cauſe thereof hath communicated to it ſo much, and no more: or elſe, for that the thing it ſelf was capable only of ſo much. Now, no Nature communicateth any thing of it ſelf to God, nor doth He receive any thing from without, exiſting (as we ſaid) neceſſarily, or by himſelf.

V. That God

Moreover, It being manifeſt. That Things

Things having life, are more perfect then the Things without life; and the Things that have understanding, then those that understand not; and the things that are good, then such as are not so: It follows from the premises, All these Attributes do agree unto God, and that infinitely. He is therefore of infinite Life, that is Eternal; of infinite Power, that is, Omnipotent; and so Omniscient, and All-good without exception. **is Eternall, Omnipotent, Omniscient, and of infinite Goodnesse.**

VI. That God is the Cause of all things.

It is connexed herewith, That all things, whatsoever have existence, have the Origin of it from God. For, one of our Conclusions was, That which is necessarily, or by it self, is but One. Whence it follows, All other things take their Rise from that which is divers from themselves. All which, either immediately, or in their Causes, have beginning from that which hath no beginning, namely, from God: as we have seen afore. Nor is this evinced by Reason onely, but after a sort by Sense. For, if we behold the admirable structure of mans Body, both within and without; and, how all parts there, even the least, have their use, without

any ſtudy, without any induſtry of the Parents; and, with ſo much art, that the moſt skillfull Philoſophers and Phyſicians could never enough admire it: This ſpeaks the Maker to be a moſt excellent Intelligence: Whereof, *Galen* may be ſeen, where eſpecially he examines the uſe of the Eye, and of the Hand. Yea, the bodies of the mute Animals ſpeak no leſſe: whoſe Parts receive their place and figuration, not from any force of the matter, but of the end whereto they ſerve. The Plants alſo and Heebs reade us the ſame leſſon, as Philoſophers have accurately noted. *Strabo* hath obſerved the ſame, by the poſition of the Waters; that, if you reſpect their quality, ought to take place between the Earth and the Air: but now are interfuſed in the Earth, to the end they might be ſerviceable to the Earths fruitfullneſſe, and to the life of Man. Now, to work for an end, is the property of an intelligent Nature. Neither are particulars onely ordained to their peculiar ends, but all things to a common end, as appears in Water, which againſt his own nature moves upward to preſerve the frame of the Whole from any gap or vacuity, being ſo compoſed,

Libr. 7. vid. Chryſoſt. de Stat. 9. Serm.

poſed, that by a continued coheſion of parts it ſuſtains it ſelf. But, the intention of this univerſall End, and Power in all things to attain unto it, muſt needs come from that Intellect, that is Maſter of this Univerſe. And, do not ſome of the irrationall Creatures exerciſe acts with ſuch order and direction, that they manifeſtly proceed from ſome Reaſon? which appears moſt in Ants and Bees, and in ſome other Creatures too, which before any experiment made, either eſchew the harmfull, or purſue things profitable. That themſelves have not this Vertue of inventing or judging, appears in that their work is alwaies the ſame, and to other things of greater momenr their power is nothing. Wherefore it is neceſſary, thoſe acts proceed from an externall Reaſon, either directing the Creatures, or making an effectuall impreſſion on them: which Reaſon is nothing elſe but what we call GOD. Again, the Celeſtiall Stars alſo, and the moſt eminent among them, the Sun and Moon, run their courſes ſo attempered and applied to the fertility of the earth, and con modity of living Creatures, that nothing can be imagined more convenient. For, although the Motion,

Motion, by the Equator onely, had been much more ſimple and direct, we ſee they have another oblique motion, whereby they might communicate their Favours with the more variety. Now, as the Fruits of the Eatth are for the living Creatures: ſo the reſt of the living Creatures are for Man, who by the exuperance and advantage of his Wit ſubdues them all unto himſelf. Whence, even the Stoicks did conclude, The World was made for Man. But, ſeeing no power of man can reach ſo farre, as to command ſervice from the Lights of heaven; nor are they to be ſuppoſed to have enſlav'd themſelves to Man of their own accord: It follows, That there is a Superiour Minde, by whoſe Order thoſe faireſt Bodies vouchſafe their perpetuall Aid unto Man dwelling ſo far below. Which Minde is no other then the wiſe Maker of the Starres and Univerſe. And, the very Motions of the Stars, both eccentrick and epicyclick, manifeſtly ſhew, not the Vertue of their Materials, but the Ordination of a free Agent. The ſame ſhines forth in the poſition of the Conſtellations, ſome on this, ſome on that part of Heaven: and likewiſe, by the

Cic. de Offic. 1. & de Nat. deor. 2.

Vid. Maim. duct. dubit. p. 2. c. 24.

ſo unequall Form of Land and Sea. The motions alſo of the Stars, this way rather then that way, gives evidence to this Truth. Yea, the moſt perfect round figure of the whole, and the parts, embraced are as it were in the boſome of Heaven, and in a wondrous order all diſpoſed, do with loud voice proclaim, Theſe things came not together by Chance, but were conſtituted by an Intellect, and that of greateſt excellence. For, who is ſo void of Reaſon, to expect from the hand of Chance any thing ſo exact? As if one ſhould beleeve Stones and Timber could, by Chance, meet together and make a Houſe; or, ſome Poeme ſtart up out of letters uncompoſed: Whenas, he that ſpied Geometricall Figures on the Shore, preſently acknowledged the prints of humane Art, being aſſured Chance was not the Authour of them. Moreover, that Mankinde was not from ever, but from a certain point of time had its common Original, the Progreſs of Arts, among other Arguments, evinceth; and the Earth of old incult, but in proceſſe of time inhabited. Which alſo the Language of Iſlands tells us, borrowed from the adjoyning Continent.

Cen. apud Lact. Nondum ſunt mille anni, ex quo inita ſapientiæ nota ſunt.

Adde

Adde hereto certain Inſtitutes and Cuſtomes ſo common to men, that they ſeem received, not ſo much from inſtinct of Nature, as from perpetual Tradition, and (except in ſome few places, through Malice or humane Calamity) uninterrupted: ſuch as in ancient time was the ſlaying of Sacrifices in Divine Service, and ſtill is the Baſhfullneſſe about Venereous matters, the ſolemnities of Marriage, and the abhorrency of Inceſt.

VII. Anſwer to an objection concerning the Cauſe of Evil.

Nor ought we to be removed from our grounds, for that we ſee many evils come to paſſe, whoſe Originall ſeems not to be from God, who is (as we ſaid afore) perfectly good. For, when we did ſet down own our poſition, That God is the cauſe of all things; we added, of things that have a reall ſubſiſtence. This hinders not, but the things which do ſubſiſt, may themſelves be cauſes of certain Accidents, ſuch as Actions are. God created Man, and the Intelligences above Man with a liberty to act: which liberty of acting, although it ſelf be not vicious, yet is able to produce ſomewhat that is ſo. And, to Evils of this ſort, which are called morally evil, to aſcribe God for the Authour, is very groſſe

groſſe impiety. There are Evils in another ſenſe, ſo named, becauſe they adfer ſome pain or loſſe to the perſon that ſuffers, which, we deny not, proceed from God: and that either for the Patients amendment, or elſe for a puniſhment anſwerable to the offence. Herein is nothing repugnant to the Divine Goodneſſe. Yea, theſe Afflictions oftimes are the effects of meer Goodneſſe, like a bitter Medicine from a good Phyſician.

VIII. Againſt two principles, or firſt Cauſes.

By the way their Opinion is to be rejected, who have made two active principles, the one good, the other bad. For, from two Principles, one oppoſite to the other, deſtruction will enſue, orderly Conſtruction cannot. Nor doth it follow, becauſe ſomething is Good by it ſelf, therefore there may be ſomewhat, by it ſelf and every way bad: ſeeing Evill is but ſome defect, which cannot be but in ſomething that doth exiſt: And this very Exiſtence is ſome Good.

IX. That the whole world is governed by God.

Moreover, that this Univerſe is governed by Gods Providence, appears from the care, which not only Men, endued

endued with underſtanding, but Birds, wilde Beaſts and Cattell (which have ſomewhat inſtead of underſtanding) have every one of their Iſſues. Which Perfection, being a part of Goodneſſe, is not to be ſeparated from God: and the rather, becauſe he is both Omnipotent and Omniſcient; ſo that he cannot but know what things are done or to be done, and himſelf can moſt eaſily direct and rule them. Pertinent whereunto, is that we ſaid above, of the Motion of things againſt their proper nature for a publike end.

X. Sublunary things as well as Celeſtial.

They that confine this Providence within the Sphere of Heaven, are prov'd to be in an Errour as wide as Heaven from Earth, both by the Reaſon already alledged, whoſe force reacheth unto all the Creatures; and hence alſo, that the Stars in their Courſes, as the beſt of the Philoſophers acknowledge, and is demonſtrated by plain experience, are ordained for the uſe of Man. And it were very unequall, That Creature ſhould be leſſe regarded, for whoſe benefit another is made, then that which is provided for its uſe.

Nor

Nor are They leſſe deceived, who ſubmit Univerſals to the care of God, but not Singulars alſo. For, if they would have God ignorant of ſingular things, as ſome profeſſe, then would he not ſo much as know himſelf; neither will his knowledge be infinite (which we have prov'd before) if ſingular things be not included within the compaſſe of it. But, if God know them, how comes it about that he cares not for them? Whenas both ſingular things, as ſingular, are ordained to a certain end, particular and univerſall; and the kindes or ſpecies of things, which (as theſe men confeſſe) are conſerv'd by God, ſubſiſt not, but in the ſingulars: So that, if the ſingulars, being abdicated by the Divine Providence, go to ruine, the things in generall cannot remain.

XI. And things ſingular alſo

It is no light Argument of the Divine Providence, in the judgement of Philoſophers and Hiſtorians, the Conſervation of Common-wealths: Firſt in generall: becauſe whereſoever the order of Ruling and Obeying is once entertained, it abides ever: And then, in ſpeciall, by the long continuance of this or that Form of Government, through

XII. Farther proof from the Conſervation of Empires.

through many Ages; as, of the Regall among the Assyrians, Ægyptians and Franks; of the Optimacy among the Venetians. For, although somewhat may be ascribed to humane Wisedom, yet if we consider well the multitude of evill men, with externall evill Accidents, and the Vicissitude innate to humane Affairs, it seems impossible for any Empire to endure so long, without some peculiar Care of the Divine Power. Which if it be not seen in the Conservation of Empires, is more evidently shewed, when it pleaseth God to make a Mutation of them. For the Instruments He useth to that Design, such as *Cyrus*, *Alexander*, *Cæsar* the Dictator, and others, these have all things, even those which depend not upon humane Prudence, flowing in upon them with unexpected Successe; more then is usuall in the uncertain Affairs of the world. Which Constancy of their Fortune, and perpetuall similitude of Events, and as it were Conspiration of all Accidents unto one certain End, is an open Declaration of a provident Direction. For also at Dice, to throw sizecinque sometimes, may be Chance; but if one throw the same Cast a hundred times

Usq; adeo res humanas vis abdita quædam obterit. Lucr.

times together, no man will deny, This is done by ſome extraordinary Art.

XIII. The ſame proved by Miracles.

But the moſt ſure Teſtimony to Divine Providence, is given by Miracles and Predictions, which in Hiſtories are extant. It is true, many things in this kinde are fabulouſly reported: but thoſe thar are Authoriz'd by ſufficient Witneſſes of the ſame time (that is, ſuch as for their judgement and fidelity are approved) are not to be rejected as improbable, much leſſe as impoſſible. For, ſeeing God is Omniſcient and Omnipotent, why can he not either ſignifie what he knows, or do what he pleaſeth, even beyond the Common Order of Nature, which, as it was at firſt conſtituted by Himſelf, ſo is it by the right of Creation ſtill ſubject to Him. If any one ſay, That ſome ſuch things might alſo proceed from Intelligences inferiour to God; it may be granted: bu this opens the way for a more eaſie belief, that the ſame might be done by God. And what thoſe Intelligences do, God, we may think, either doth by them, or in his Wiſedom permittth. Seeing in Kingdomes and Commonwealths well eſtabliſhed, nothing is wont to be done beſide the Common Laws,

Obj.

Anſ.

Laws, unleſs by the Will of the Supreme Governour.

XIV. Principally among the Iews, which are commended to belief by the duration of their Religion.

Now that ſome Miracles have indeed been done; if we doubt of the faith of other Hiſtories, even the Judaicall Religion may eaſily evince alone: Which being long ſince deſtitute of all humane ſupport, yea, expoſed to contempt and deriſion, perdures * unto this day, through almoſt all parts of the world: whenas other Religions all (except the Chriſtian, which is as it were the perfection of the Jewiſh) are either vaniſh'd, ſo ſoon as Force, and the Authority of the Secular Arm withdrew it ſelf, as all Pagan Religions; or elſe, are yet upheld by the ſame Arm, as Mahumetiſm. If the cauſe be enquir'd, Why the Judaick Religion took ſo deep Roots in the mindes of all the Hebrews, that it cannot be extirpated: No Reaſon can be adferred or imagined, but this; That the preſent Jews from their Parents, as they from theirs, and ſo forward, untill we arrive at thoſe who liv'd in *Moſes* and *Joſhua*'s time, by certain and conſtant Tradition have received thoſe Miracles; which, as in other places, ſo eſpecially at their coming

* *Vid. Joſep. 1. Cont. Apion. ex Hecatæo.*

Qu.

Anſ.

ming out of *Egipt*, and in the Wilderneſs, and in their entrance into *Canaan*, had happened; and whereof thoſe their Progenitors were eye-witneſſes. Otherwiſe, it is incredible that a People, contumacious and ſtiff enough, would ſubmit their Necks to the Yoke of a Law, made heavy by ſo many Ceremonies; or, that intelligent men, among all the Marks of Religion, which humane Reaſon might invent, ſhould ſingle out Circumciſion: a Mark, which could neither be admitted without grievous pain, and was derided by all ſtrangers; nor had any thing in it to commend it ſelf, beſide God the Author.

XV. By the veracity and antiquity of *Moſes*.

And *Moſes* Books, wherein thoſe Miracles are recorded, are of certain credit: not only, becauſe there hath been a perpetuall Fame among the Hebrews, that He was commended by the Oracle of God, and made a Leader of his People; but alſo, becauſe it is ſure enough, He was neither ſtudious of his own Glory, nor partiall to his own Poſterity; having laid open his own ſins, which he might have concealed, and aſſigned the Royal Dignity and the Prieſthood to others; his own children being left

left among the common Levites. All which declares, he had no reaſon to deceive us. Neither doth he affect any coloured or illecebrous ſpeech, ſuch as Deceivers uſe, but plain and ſimple, and agreeable to the matter he relateth. Adde the indubitate Antiquity of *Moſes* Writings; with which, no other in the world can be compared. Whereof this is one Argument, That the Grecians, the Parents of all learning to other Nations, confeſſe themſelves to have received their letters * from ſtrangers. Which letters, for their order and name, and their ancient figures too, acknowledge their Deſcent from the Syriac or Hebrew. As alſo, the old *Attic* Laws[a], whence the Roman were in after-time deriv'd, drew their Originall from the Laws of *Moſes*.

* *Cadmi Phœnicica ſigna*, Timo.

a *Vid. De Iure belli, l. 2. c. 1. S. 12*

XV. By the Teſtimonies of Aliens.

Beſides all this, we have the Teſtimonies of many Aliens to the Jews Religion, to evidence, That the things written by *Moſes* were in old time proclaimed by Fame, ſpread over all Nations. I will ſet down ſome parriculars, wherein the moſt Ancient Heathen Writers are his Seconds; That the world had a [b] beginning; and out of *Chaos*

b *Vid. Euſeb. l. 2. præp. cap. 10.*

Coaos were formed all Creatures *, and last of all Man, after Gods Image, to whom Dominion over the reſt was given: That all things were made by the Word: That the Sun is not the primogeneous Light, but the Receptacle thereof: And above the Stars are Manſions Divine, wherein is light perpetual: That God is the moſt Ancient, and deſcended of none: The world moſt beautifull, as the Work of God: That the Darkneſſe was before the Light, and therefore did the Nations, moſt obſervant of Old Cuſtomes, account their Time by [c] Nights: That there is one God moſt high, by whom all things were made in order; from whom the Stars have their brightneſſe, and moving Creatures have Life and Spirit [d] infuſed in them: And that man was faſhioned out of the Clay, and all the work was finiſhed in ſeven daies: Whence many Nations digeſted their Time into Weeks, and had the Seventh [e] day in honour: That, at firſt, Men lived in great Innocency and Simplicity, and went naked, and laſted a Thouſand years; whence the Golden Age of the Poets: The Hiſtory of *Adam* and *Eve*: of the Tree, and of the Serpent: That

* *Vid. Ovid. Metam. l. 1.*

c *Cæſar de bell. G. l. 6.*

d *Spiritus intus alit. Virg. Æn. 6.*

e *Lux ſeptima Sancta. Clem. ex Heſiodo.*

That Man were favoured by God with
g *Catull. Epithal.* divine g Visions, untill the frequency
and magnitude of their offences, as it
were, secluded God and his ministring
Spirits from their familiar commerce.
The wilderness of the Gyants; The
Deluge, from whence the Nations reckon their Time, calling what went be-
h *Vid. Censorin.* fore h unknown: The Ark, and the
Dove, and the Raven: The place
where the Ark rested; The burning
i *Diodor. Sicul. l 19.* of i *Sodom*; Circumcision; The History of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob* and *Joseph*; and other particulars are extant
in sundry ancient Heathen Authors.
k *Longin. de subl. Justin. ex Trog. Tacit. Juven* In the most of them is celebrated k *Moses*
and his Acts. And truly, no considering man will be easily perswaded
that *Moses*, who had not the Egyptians onely, but many other Nations
for his Enemies, would dare to publish
of the Worlds Original; and the most
ancient Occurrences, what might be
revinced either by former Writings, or
was opposite to the common belief; or,
that he would adventure to relate things
of his own time, which might be refelled by the Testimonies of Many then
alive. The old Jews are also honourably mentioned for their Piety and their
Justice;

Justice: And it is not needfull to repeat what is found concerning *Joshua* and others, consonant to the Hebrew Story. For, whosoever gives faith to *Moses* (which no man without immodesty can deny him) he will certainly beleeve that eminent Miracles were of old wrought by the Divine Power: which is the point we here especially insist on.

XVII. Miracles after *Moses* of no lesse credit.

The Miracles in after-times, as of *Elias*, *Elisha*, and of oehers, are the more clear from any suspicion, because in those times *Judea* was more known; and being in the *Odium* of her Neighborr for diversity of Religion, it had been very easie for them to have repressed the fame of any lye at the first birth. The History of *Jonas* [l] and the Whale is in Heathen Writers, but that the name of *Hercules* is thrust in, upon whom, for his renown, they were wont to father all wonders, as *Tacitus* observeth. Certainly, that enemy of Jews as well as Christians, [m] *Julian*, was by the Evidence of History enforced to confesse, That men endued with a divine Spirit had lived among the Hebrews; and, that fire came down from Heaven upon the

[l] *Tzetz in Lycoph.*

[m] *Apud Cyrill. lib. 3. & cap. 10.*

the Sacrifices of *Moses* and *Elias*. And here we must note, Not only grievous * punishments, amongst the Jews, were appointed for them that falsly arrogated the Prophets part unto themselves: but many Kings, who that way might have procured to themselves great Authority; many very learned men, such as *Esdras* and others, never durst assume unto them that honour; nor any man at all, for some * Ages before the Time of Jesus. Moreover, it was impossible that so many Thousand people conld be deceived in the asseveration of a publike, and as it were perpetuall Prodigy; I mean, that Oracle, which shined forth out of the Pectorall * of the High Priest: which endured till the destruction of the first Temple, as the [n] Jews have ever beleeved, so firmly, that we must needs think, their Ancestors were most fully assured of it.

* Deui. 13. 5.

* Mac. 9. 27.

* Exo. 18. 30. *& alibi.*

n *Ios. l.* 3. 9.

XVIII. Gods Providence is also proved by Predictions

To the Argument from Miracles, is annexed another no lesse efficacious, from the Predictions of things to come. Very many of these are extant among the Hebrews, and that of truth undeniable: as, concerning his Orbity [o] that should restore *Jericho*: concerning the de-

o Compare Iosh. 6. 26. 1 *Reg.* 16 34.

deſtruction of *Bethels* Altar by a King, in name *Joſiah*, three hundred [p] years and more, before it came to paſſe. So the name of *Cyrus* alſo, and his principall affairs were foreſhewed by *Eſaias*: the end of *Jeruſalems* Seige by the *Chaldean* Army, by *Jeremias*: and by *Daniel*, the Tranſlation of the Empire from the Aſſyrians to the Medes and Perſians; from them to *Alexander* the Macedonian; whoſe Succeſſours in part were the Families of *Lagus* and *Seleucus*: and, what Calamities the Hebrew people ſhould receive from them, but moſt of all from *Antiochus* the Great. All this hath *Daniel* foretold ſo plainly, that *Porphyry* [q] comparing the Greek Hiſtories, extant in his time, with thoſe Prophecies, had no other Refuge, but to ſay, that the Prophecies aſcribed to *Daniel* were written after the things were come to paſſe. Which is all one, as if you ſhould ſay, the Works under *Virgils* name, were not written by him in the time of *Auguſtus*. For, of that we ſay, the Hebrews never made any more doubt, then the Romans of this. To theſe may be added many Oracles, and moſt famous, even among the Mexicans and Peruans, which foretold the

[p] *Joſ. Antiq. l. 10. c. 5.*

Cap. 39, &c.

Dan. 2. &c.

[q] *Hieron. in Dan. paſſim.*

V. Acoſtam. & P. Ciez. in 2. Indic.

val of the Spaniards in those Countries, and the calamities thence ensuing.

XIX. And by other Arguments.

Hither may Dreams also be referred, not a few, and those so exactly agreeing with the events, which in themselves and in their Causes were wholly unknown to the Dreamers, that they cannot, without some Touch of impudence, be refer'd to chance, or naturall causes. Illustrious examples whereof *Tertullian* hath gathered out of most approved Authours, in his Book *de*[r] *Anima*. Adde unto those the[s] *Spectrums* which have not only been seen, but heard to speak, as hath been related by Historians far enough from superstitious Credulity, and confirmed by witnesses of our own Age, who have lived in *Mexica* and other parts of *America*. Nor are we to slight those publick Tryals of the Truth by red-hot * Irons, which so many *German* Histories, and the Laws themselves have mentioned.

r *Cap. 48. V. Zuinger. Vol. 5. l. 4. de Insom.*

s *Flor. l. 4. c. 7. Plin. ep 7 27. Val. Ma. l. 8.*

* *V. Iuretum in Ivo, ep. 74.*

XX. Answer to an Object. that miracles are not now.

Neither hath any Man reason to object, that such Miracles are not now seen in our Time, nor such predictions heard of. For, it is sufficient to the proof of divine Providence, that such things have been heretofore. Which Providence being

ing made good, it follows, that we beleeve God doth as providently and wisely now forbear such things, as before he used them. Nor was it fit, the Laws given to the Universe touching the natural course of things, and uncertainty of future Events, should be easily and alwaies transgressed; but then only, when there was a just and worthy Cause; as, when the worship of the true God banisht almost out of all the world, had residence only in a corner of it, to wit, *Judea*; and was to be often succoured and reinforced with new Aids against the Impiety that laid Seige round about it: Or, when Christian Religion, of which we shall after make a peculiar Discourse, was, according to Gods Decree, to be first propagated over all the world.

XXI. And o another Object. that there is so much wickedness. *Tertul. adv. Marcion. 2. Orig. con. Cels. 4. Virtuti humanæ si auferat libertatem, ipsam eius naturam sustulerit.*

Some are moved to doubt of the Divine Providence, in Contemplation of the wickedness wherewith as with a Deluge this Earth is overwhelmed. To restrain and curb the flowings hereof, This say they, were a work worthy of the Divine Providence, if there be any. But the Answer's easie. Seeing God in the Creation, gave Man a liberty to do well or ill (necessary and immutable goodnes

being reserved as his own Prerogative) it was not fit. He should put an Impediment to evill Actions, contrary to that liberty. And yet, whatsoever Impediments were consistent with that liberty, (as the constitution and promulgation of a Law, internal and external Admonitions, with Threats also and Promises,) none of these is pretermitted by God. And moreover, He permitteth not the effects of malice to range whither they would, but restrains them so, that Government might never be overthrown, nor the knowledge of divine Laws utterly extinguisht. Neither are the wickednesses permitted altogether without fruit, being ordered, as we touched afore, either for the punishment of other men no lesse wicked; or for the correction of such as fall from the way of vertue; or for the Tryall of their patience and constancy who have made good progresse in it. Lastly, they also whose wickednesses are winked at for a time, are wont to pay dearly for the forbearance of their punishment; and must suffer what God shall command, because what he commanded they would not do.

XXII. But if they that see so much wickednesse

neſſe can ſee no vengeance follow it; and if ſome good men (whereat weak mindes are uſually offended) oppreſſed by the violence of the wicked, not only lead a troubleſome life, but often undergoe death; and that an infamous death: It doth not preſently follow, that the providence of God is vaniſht out of the world, which hath been ſhewed above by ſo convincing arguments; but rather, with the wiſeſt of men we muſt collect thus: Seeing God takes care of Actions, and is juſt, and yet wicked things are acted, Certainly we muſt expect ſome Judgement after this life, to the end, neither notorious Improbity may eſcape without puniſhment, nor eminent Vertue go without Comfort and Reward.

Even to the oppreſſion of good men many times, which obſervation is retorted.

XXIII. That the ſoul remains after the body proved by Tradition.

For the Confirmation whereof we muſt alſo prove that Souls remain after their Bodies. This truth, by moſt ancient Tradition from our firſt parents (from whom elſe?) hath been derived even to all Civill Nations: as it appears by *Homers* verſes, and by Philoſophers, not *Greek* only, but the old Gallick, whom they called Druids, and of the Indian Brackmans; and by what, many Writers have delivered concerning the Egypti-

t *Iuſtin Martyr Apolog* 2. *Cæſar l.* 6. *Gal. Strab. l.* 4. *&* 15. *Porphyr. de Animal.*

Egyptians and Thracians and Germans too. Moreover, of the divine judgement after this life, we ſee many Teſtimonies were extant among the Greeks, Egyptians, Indians, as good Authors do relate. Whereto may be added the Tradition of the worlds Conflagration. A token whereof the [u] Aſtrologers have obſerved, the Suns neither approach unto the Earth. And when our men came firſt inro the *Canaries*, *America*, and other remote places, they found there alſo the ſame Opinion of the ſouls, and of judgement to come.

[u] *Copernic. Rev l.3 l.16.*

XXIV. No reaſon repugnant to it.

Nor indeed can there be found any Argument from nature, which may refell this ſo ancient, ſo common Tradition. For all things that we ſee periſh, do either periſh by oppoſition of the contrary being more prevalent, as cold by the force of heat; or elſe, by ſubtraction of the ſubject, whereon they depend, as the figure of a Glaſſe, the Glaſſe being broken; or by defect of the cauſe efficient, as light by the abſence of the Sun. Now, of the Soul can none of theſe be verified: not the firſt; becauſe the Soul hath no contrary; yea, ſuch is the nature thereof, to embrace contra-

ries

ries all at once in her boſom, after her manner, that is, intellectually. Not the ſecond: becauſe the ſoul depends not upon any ſubject. If ſhe had any, it would be the body; but the body is not, it is manifeſt; becauſe, when bodily ſtrength decayeth, the ſoul continueth freſh and active: And, the faculties of the Body are hurt by too great excellency of the the object, as the ſight by the Sun's brightneſſe: but the Soul, the more converſant it is about noble objects, as about figures abſtract from matter, about Univerſals, the more perfection it obtaineth. Again, ſuch is the nature of the Body, that the faculties thereof are buſied about things determined by time and place: but the ſoul is employed alſo about that which is infinite and eternall. Adde, that the ſoul overcometh the affections of the body, and commands the body to abide torment and death. And, The Actions which raiſe the ſoul moſt above the body, are the moſt excellent. Wherefore, ſeeing the Soul dependeth not on the body in operation, neither doth its Eſſence depends thereon. For we have no other way to underſtand the nature of things inviſible, but by their opera-

Ariſt. de Anima l 1. p. 4. *& l.* 3. *c* 4.

tions. Nor can the Soul periſh in the third manner. For, no efficient Cauſe can be given, whence the Soul hath a perpetuall Emanation. Not the parents: becauſe after they are dead, the Children live. And, if there muſt be any Cauſe, it can be no other then the firſt and univerſall Cauſe. Which Cauſe, as it is never deficient in reſpect of power, ſo that it is deficient in reſpect of will, *i. e.* that God wills the Soul ſhould periſh, can be proved by no Argument.

XXV. Many reaſons in favour of it.

Yea, there are Arguments of no ſmall moment to the contrary: namely, that unto Man is given a Dominion over his own actions, and over the creatures: that He is capable of the knowledge of God and of the immortall * natures: that he hath a conſcience of ſuch power, as to comfort him in good Actions, how painfull ſoever, and ſuſtain him with hope; and to torment him for evill Actions, eſpecially upon his Death-bed, as it were upon apprehenſion of impending judgement. Which force of Conſcience, even the moſt mighty Tyrants, oft-times have not been able, when they moſt deſired, to ſuppreſſe within themſelves, as appears by many Examples.

* *Nulli naturæ mortali immortalis natura cognita eſt. Salu. Philoſ.*

Vid. Tac. & Suet. de Tib.

Now,

Now, to conclude, if both the Soul it XXVI.
ſelf be of that nature, which hath in it no cauſe of corruption; and God hath given us many Evidences of his pleaſure, that the Soul ſhall ſurvive the Body; ſurely no end can be propoſed to a man more worthy of him, then the felicity of that State. And this is that which *Plato* and the *Pythagoreans* ſaid was the Good of a Man, to be made moſt like unto God [y]. What that Felicity is, and how it may be attained, Men may indeed ſearch after by Conjectures; but, if God hath revealed any thing concerning it, that ought to be held for moſt true and certain. Which Revelation, ſeeing Chriſt hath brought into the world, we ſhall ſpeak of Him in our next Diſcourſe.

Felicity after this life. For the attaining whereof, we muſt enquire after the true Religion.

[y] So the *Stoicks* out of *Plato*, as *Clemens* notes, *St.* 5.

SUMMA-

SUMMARY
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II. DISCOURSE.

of CHRIST, *his Miracles and Doctrine.*

THat Jesus of *Nazareth* sometime lived in *Judea*, *Tiberius* being Emperour of *Rome*, not only the Christians, dispersed over all the world, doe most constantly professe; but the Jews also, that are now, and that have ever written since those times. The same is testified by by the Pagans too, that is, the Writers neither of the Jewish nor of the Christian Religion, as [a] *Suetonius*, [b] *Tacitus*, the younger * *Pliny*, and many after them.

I. That Iesus lived once.

a *Claud. c.* 25.
b *Lib.* 15.
* *Ep* 97 *l.* 10.

That the same Jesus, by *Pontius Pilate* President of *Judea*, was affixed to the Crosse, all Christians likewise, although it might seem ignominious to the servants of such a Lord, confesse. The [c] Jews confesse it too, though not ignorant, how for that reason, because their Ancestors

II. That he was put to an ignominious death.

Ancestors were the Authours of *Pilates* act, they lye under the most heavy *odium* of all Christians, under whose power they live scattered in severall places. And the Pagan Writers, whom we have mentioned, have recorded the same. Yea, a long time after, were extant the [c] Acts of *Pilate*, wherein 'twas evident: unto which Acts the Christians did sometimes make their Appeal. Neither was this ever questioned by *Julian*, or other opposers of Christianity. So that, no History can be imagined more certain then this, approved by the united testimonies, I say not of particular men, but of whole nations, otherwise disagreeing from one another. This being thus, yet we see him to be worshipped, as Lord, through the Regions of the world [d] fartheſt distant: not in our age only, or the ages last past, but in the most ancient times, even till we come to that time immediate after the thing it self was done: that is, under the Empire of *Nero*: wherein, a great number of the Worshippers of Christ were martyr'd for that profession, as *Tacitus* and others testifie. Amongst which worshippers alwayes were very many that wanted neither judgement nor learning: namely, (to say

c *Vid. Epiph. in Tessaresc.*

III. Yet after death was worshipped by understanding men. For no other cause but his miracles.

d *Chrysost. 2d 2 Cor. 7.*

ſay nothing of the Jews) [e] *Sergius* the Governour of *Cyprus*, [f] *Dionyſius the Areopagite*, [g] *Polycarpus*, [h] *Juſtin*, [i] *Irenæus*, [k] *Athenagoras*, [l] *Origen*, [m] *Tertullian*, [n] *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, and many more. Who being men of ſuch excellent parts, why they ſhould devote themſelves to the worſhip of a man, put to an ignominious death, eſpecially being almoſt all bred up in other Religions, nor were allured to the Chriſtian by any temptation either of honour or profit; there can be no account given, but only this, that by diligent inquiſition, ſuch as becomes prudent men in a buſineſſe of the greateſt concernment, they had found the fame was true and verified by ſufficient witneſſes, which was ſpread abroad of his miraculous works: as, of the ſick healed by a word only of his mouth; and openly, in grievous and inveterate diſeaſes; of ſight reſtored to the man that was born blinde: of the loaves multiplyed more then once to feed many thouſands, which were witneſſes thereof: of dead men raiſed again to life, and many more of the ſame nature. And this Fame ſprang from ſo certain and undoubted an Originall, that, as the *Hebrews* in their *Talmud* openly con-

e Act. 13. 12.
f Act. 17 34.
g *Martyr. An.* 169.
h *Scripſit An.* 148.
i *Floruit* 183.
k *Flor.* 180.
l *Flor.* 230.
m *Celeber.* 208.
n *Circa idem temp. vid. Euſeb.*

confesse; so [o] *Celsus* and [p] *Julian*, when they wrote against the Christians, had not the boldnesse to deny, some Miracles were wrought by the hand of Christ.

[c] *Beniam. in Itinerario.*
[o] *Apud Orig. l. 2. Credidisti eum esse Dei filium, ideo quod claudos & cæcos sanavit.*
[p] *Apud Cyr. lib. 6.*

Now it is clear as the Sun, that those works were not done by naturall force, both because they are called Miracles or Prodigies; and because by the force of nature it is impossible, that by a wod of the mouth only, or a touch of the hand, grievous diseases should be cured, and that upon the sudden. Again, if those works might have been in some sort referred to naturall efficacy, certainly They that were the profest enemies either of Christ himself living on the earth, or of the Gospel, he left behinde him, would have told us so long since.

IV. Which Miracles could not be ascribed to nature.

By an Argument of Kin to the former, we collect, They were not like unto Impostures done in appearaece only: because most of the works were done in view of the [q] people and of many learned men among the people, such as had wit enough, and malice enough to observe all the actions of Christ with curiosity.

V. Nor were they Impostures

[q] Act. 26. 26. Luk. 12. 1.

Whereto

Whereto we adde, that the like works were often repeated, and the effects not momentaneous but permanent. Theſe things being duly weighed, it clearly follows (which the Jews alſo confeſſe) theſe works proceeded from ſome vertue more then humane, that is, from ſome ſpirit either good or evill.

VI. Nor the works of an evil ſpirit.

But from an evill ſpirit theſe works proceeded not, is hence proved, becauſe the doctrine of Chriſt, for confirmation whereof the works were done, is the overthrow of evill ſpirits; whom it forbids us to worſhip; and draws us away from all pollutions wherewith the evill ſpirits are delighted. And by experience we ſee, whereſoever that doctrine is once received, the worſhip of devils and [r] Magick Arts do forthwith vaniſh, and the one true God is ſerved with deteſtation of the devils; whoſe power and force was broken by the coming of Chriſt, as [s] *Porphyry* himſelf acknowledgeth. Neither is it credible that any evill ſpirit would be ſo imprudent, to effect ſuch things, and that very oft, whereby no honour, no profit could redound unto himſelf, but on the contrary very much incommodity and diſgrace. And it no way becomes the wiſedom

[r] Act. 19. 19.

[s] *Apud Euſeb. præpar. 5. 1. Ex quo Ieſus cœptus eſt. publicam Deorum opem nemo ſenſit.*

wisedom of God neither, nor his goodnesse, to beleeve he would permit any cunning Devill to impose upon and deceive men, in whom was found no guil, and that feared him; such as were the first Disciples of Christ, as both the unblamableness of their Conversation, and the many calamities endured by them, onely for conscience sake, doe evidently declare.

VII.
And if of a good spirit, then from God, and to what end,

But if you say the works of Christ proceeded from good spirits yet inferiour to God, you do acknowledge, They pleased God, and pertained to the honour of God; because the good spirits do nothing but what is acceptable in the sight of God, and tendeth to his Glory (to say nothing of this, that some of Christs works do plainly point at God the Authour, as the restoring of sundry dead men to life again.) But now, God neither doth miracles, nor suffers them to be done without cause. For this is the part of a wise Law-maker, not to recede from his own Laws without some reason, and that of moment.

VIII.
For testimony to the Gospel,

Now there can be no other reason given why these things were done, beside that

that alledged by Christ, the bearing witnesse to his doctrine. Neither could any other cause be conceived in the minde of the Beholders. Amongst whom, there being many (as we said) of a pious Disposition, that Gods intent was to impose upon them, is impiety to beleeve. And upon this ground very many of the Jews that lived about the times of Jesus, even they that could not be induced to omit any part of [t] *Moses* Law, (the [u] *Nazarens* and the *Ebionites*) did nevertheless honor *Jesus* as a Master sent from heaven.

t *Vid.* Act. 15. Rom. 15.
u *V. Epiphan.* Act. 24. 5.

IX. The Miracle of the Resurrection, confirmed by sufficient witnesse.

As from the Miracles wrought by Christ in his life time, so we argue from that greatest of Miracles, after his Cross, Death and Burial, his Resurrection, and return unto life again. For this, not only as true, but as the principal foundation of their faith, the Christians of all times and places build upon: which had been impossible, had not the first Teachers of Christian faith certainly perswaded their Auditors, that the thing was so done. Neither could they have thus perswaded men indued with any judgement, unlesse they did affirm themselves eye-witnesses. Without which affirmation, no man, though of mean understanding, would have

have given any credit to them, especially at those times, when they must purchase their belief so dearly, at the cost of the greatest dangers and persecutions. That this was affirmed by them with great constancy, even their own books and the writings of other men [x] do shew. Yea, 'tis in their books, They appealed to the testimony of [y] five hundred witnesses. It is not a custom, lyars use to appeal to witnesses so many: nor can it be that so many should conspire to bring in an evidence to falshood. Had there been no other witnesses but those first most famous Propagators of the Christian doctrine, their testimony had been sufficient.

x *Etiam Celsi vid. orig. l. 1.*

y 1 Cor. 15. 9.

X. What they gained by their testimony to the truth. Nothing but persecution here.

No man is wicked *gratis* and for nothing, Honour they could not hope for by the lye, seeing all preferment was in the hand of Pagans or Jews; from both they received nothing but ignominy and reproach: not riches, seeing on the contrary, this profession was punished with confiscation of their goods, if they had any; and without that, they could not give themselves to the Ministery of the Gospel, unless they did put off the care of their temporall estate. Nor could any other

conveniences of this life prevail with them to tell a lye, since by the very preaching of the Gospel, they exposed themselves to labours, to hunger, to thirst, to stripes, to prison. A naked fame among their own party was not *tanti*, not of so much reckoning, that therefore simple men, and whose life and doctrine were far frum pride, should undertake so great a burden of calamities. Nor could they at any hand hope for so great a progresse of their doctrine, obstructed both by the general aversation of men intent onely upon their profit, and by the Authority of Rulers every where, unlesse by some divine promise. Add thereunto, that this fame, whatever it was, they could not imagine would be of any long continuance, when (God on purpose hiding his counsell from them about this) the end of the whole world they waited for as near [z] approaching; which their own and the writings of the after-Christians make most manifest. It remains then, that they be said to have told a lie in defence of their Religion: which, if we weigh the matter in an equall balance, is impossible to be said. For either they did in their hearts beleeve the Religion to be true, or they did not beleeve. Had they

z *Vid.* 1 Th. 4.15,16. 1 Cor 15.52. *Tertul. de Monog. Quum magis nunc tempus in collecto factum sit.*

they not beleeved it true, yea, had they not beleeved it exceeding good, never would they, omitting other Religions more safe and more honoured, have chosen this. And though true, they would not have profest it, had they not beleeved the profession to be necessary; especially foreseeing easily, what they quickly learned by sad experience, that this profession drew after it an infinite train of deaths and persecutions: which to occasion, without just cause, was no less crime then Homicide. But if they believed their Religion to be true, yea, and the best Religion under Heaven: and necessary to be profest, also after their Masters death; surely this could in no wise come to passe, had their Masters promise of his Resurrection been of none effect. For this [a] frustration had been enough to have beaten out of any sensible mans head, and to have made abortive the Faith that was preconceived. Again, all Religion, above all the Christian, [b] prohibiteth lying and false witnesse, especially in things Divine. They could not therefore by love of Religion, much lesse of such a Religion, be moved to tell a lye. Moreover, They were men of so pure a life, that their Adversaries could

a *Vid. Chrysost. ad* 1 Cor. 1. *in fine.*

b Mat. 12. 36. Iohn. 8. 44, 45. Eph 4. 25. Rom. 9. 1.

could not ſpot them: to whom nothing is objected, but [c] ſimplicity alone, and ſhe's of ſo fair a nature, that ſhe cannot make a lye. Laſtly, There was not a man of them, that ſuffered not moſt grievous perſecutions, for that profeſſion of Jeſus raiſed from the dead: many of them for their teſtimony were rewarded with moſt exquiſite torments. But now, that any one with his ſenſe about him, ſhould ſuffer ſuch things for an opinion; that indeed is poſſible; but, for a falſe thing which he knows to be falſe, to ſuffer ſuch extremities; not ſome one man, but very many for whoſe intereſt it is not that credit be given unto it, this is plainly incredible. The Chriſtians, we are ſure, were not mad. Their Lives and their Writings ſhew they were ſober men. And what we have ſpoken of thoſe firſt, the ſame is alſo true of *Paul*, who [d] declared openly, that he had ſeen Chriſt reigning now in heaven, yet wanted he none of the Jewiſh [e] learning, nor was he out of hope of honours, if he had gone forward in his Fathers ſteps: But, on the contrary part, he could expect nothing but hatred of his Kindred, Travels over all the world, difficult, perilous, and laborious, and laſt of all Death and Infamy.

[c] *Celſus apud Origin. l. 1.*

[d] 1 Cor. 15. 9. 2 Cor. 12. 4.

[e] Act. 22. 3. *vid. Epiphan.*

Verily

XI. Answer to an objection concerning impossibility of the Resurrection,

Verily no man can deny Faith to such testimonies, unlesse he say, The thing it self is like those that imply a conntradiction, impossible to be done, which cannot be said in our case. It might indeed, if one should affirm, the same man alive and dead at the same time. But that a dead man should be restored to life, by his efficacy, who at first gave life to man, why this should be accounted impossible there is no cause. Nor have wise men beleeved it impossible. For *Plato* hath written the same of [f] *Er* the *Armenian*, *Heraclides Ponticus* [g] of a certain Woman. *Herdotus* of [h] *Aristæus*, *Plutarch* [i] of another. Which, whether true or false, shew that learned men have thought a resurrection no impossible thing.

f *Plat. de Rep.* 10. *Val. Max.* 1. 8. *Plut. Symp.* 9. 5. *Macrob. init. Som.*
g *Apud Plin.* 7. 32.
h *Plin.* 7. 52.
i *L. de sera vindic.*

XII. The Resurrection granted evinceth the truth of Iesus doctrine.

Now if it be neither impossible for Christ to have returned to life, and evidenced by sufficient Testimonies (wherwith the Jewish Master *Bechai* being convinced acknowledged the truth thereof) and the same Christ, as both his own followers and other men confesse, published a new Doctrine, as by divine Authority; it truly follows, that the doctrine is true: because it cannot consist neither

neither with the juſtice nor wiſedom of God, in ſo excellent a way to honour him, who had been guilty of falſhood in ſo great a matter: eſpecially when he himſelf before his death, foretold his diſciples of his death, and the kinde of death; and his Reſurrection alſo, adding theſe things ſhould ſo come to paſſe, for a[k] confirmation of his Doctrine.

[k] Jo.17. Lu.24.46,47

XIII. That the Chriſtian Religion excels all other.

The former Arguments are drawn from the matter of fact, let us now come to thoſe that proceed from the nature of the Doctrine. Surely, eirher all the worſhip of God is wholly to be rejected, (which he will never agree to, who beleeves there is a God, and one that hath care of the world; and who conſiders man, endued both with excellent underſtanding, and with a power to chooſe morall Good and Evill, and therefore having in himſelf matter as of Reward, ſo of Puniſhment likewiſe) or elſe this Religion is to be admitted not only for the evidence of Fact whereof we have ſpoken, but alſo for the things intrinſecall, and of the very nature of the Religion it ſelf. For no other in any age or nation can be produced, either more excellent in reward, or more perfect in pre-

cepts, or, for the manner whereby it was commanded to be spread, more admirable.

XIV. The excellency of the reward proposed.

To begin with the Reward, that is, the end proposed to Man; because that (as we use to say) is first in intention, though last in Execution; *Moses* in the institutes of the *Judaick* Religion, if we regard the expresse Covenants of the Law, promised nothing above the good things [l] of this life, a fruitfull land, plentifull store, victory over enemies, long and healthfull age, hopefull posterity. What is beyond these, is veiled under shadows, or to be collected by wise and difficult ratiocination. For which cause many professors of the *Mosaick* law, namely the *Sadduces*, [m] renounced all hope of good things to be attained after this life. Among the *Grecians*, who received their learning from the hands of the *Chaldeans* and *Egyptians*. They that conceived any hope of another life after the end of this, spake of it with much [n] hesitancy, as appears in the dissertations of [o] *Socrates*, in the writings of [p] *Tully*, [q] *Seneca*, and others. And when they sought Arguments for it, they found very little of certainty. For what

l *Vide* Deut. & Heb. 8. 6.
m Matth. 22. 23. Act. 23. 8. *Animam putabant interire cum corporibus. Hieron. de Sadd.*
n *Chrysost.* 1 Cor. 15. 25.
o *In Plat. Phæd. Hoc scito spem mihi esse venturum me ad viros bonos: quod tamen non nimium affirmaverim.*
p *Tuscul.* 1.
q *Epist.* 64. *Et fortasse, quem putamus periisse, premissus est.*

the

they alledge, moſt of it holds no better for men then [r] beaſts. This being obſerved by ſome others, it is not murh to be admired, if they deviſed a tranſmigration of ſouls from men into beaſts, from beaſts into men. And this again being built on no certain teſtimonies or arguments, and yet, it being clear that ſome end was propſed to man, others were inclined to ſay, that vertue is [t] reward to it ſelf, and a wiſe man is happy enough even when he is tormented in the Bull of *Phalaris*. But this alſo, and not without cauſe, diſpleaſed others, who were ſenſible enough, that where dangers, incommodities, torments and death are, there felicity, eſpecially the higheſt, cannot dwell, unleſſe men could content themſrlves with a ſound of words without any reality. And therefore theſe men placed the ſupreme good and the end of man in ſuch things as bring pleaſure to the ſenſes. But this Opinian too, is by very many, and that by ſound arguments refuted, as an opinion that extinguiſheth alll honeſty; ſome ſparks or ſeeds whereof we have raked up in our mindes; and degradeth man, born and erected for higher things, into the rank of bruitiſh Creatures, which with their down-caſt

[r] *Vt illud: Quod ſe movet æternum eſt, v. Lact. l. 7. c. 8.*

[ſ] *Vt Brachmanes olim, & nunc quoque: à quibus hauſit Pythagoras & eius Schola.*

[t] *V. Tuſcul. 2. & Lact. l. 3. c. 27. Auguſtine ep. 52.*

looks regard nothing but what is earthly. In so many doubts and by-waies man-kinde went astray in that age, when Christ brought into the world the true knowledge of the end, promising his followers after this life, a life not onely without death, without pain and trouble, but attended also with joy unspeakable: and that, not only to a part of Man, that is, his soul; of whose hopefull felicity after this life, was extant partly some conjecture, partly tradition; but also to the body: with a great deal of reason, that as the body for the Divine Law, often suffers hurts, tortures, and death, so it should at last be partaker of the Repensation; Now the joys which are promised, are not vile, as banquets, which the grosse Jews hope for after this life; and the pleasures of the Bed, which the [f] *Mahumetans* promise to themselves: These are proper to this frail life, Remedies of mortality; the former for the conservation of particulars, the latter for the propagation of their kinde: But the delights of the life to come, are perpetuall vigour of body and more then Star-like Beauty; in the soul perfect understanding, even of God and his providence, and of what

[f] *Alcoran. Azoar. 2. 5. 49.*

now

lies hid: a will quiet, and taken up with the fruition of God especially, and with the admiration and praise of him: briefly all things better and greater far then can be conceived by comparison of the best and greatest things we know in this world.

XV. An objection answered concerning the restitution of bodies once dissolued.

Here besides the Objection answered afore another is wont to be opposed as if it were impossible that the Bodies of men once dissolved should be framed again. But this is not grounded upon any reason. For, whenas most of the Philosophers agree, that in all transmutations of things, the matter still remains, capable of divers forms, who can say, that either God is ignorant in what places, how distant soever, the parts of that matter are, which pertained unto any humane body; or that he wanteth power to reduce and recompose the dispersed particles, and to do that in his sphere, which we see Chymists do in their fornaces and vessels, collect the congenerous parts of divided nature? Neither are there wanting in naturall things examples to shew how bodies aftee various changes are restored to their originall form, as we understand by the

ſeed of Trees and living Creatures. Nor is that knot which many tye inſoluble concerning humane bodies converted to the food of wilde beaſts or cattell, who, being thus fed, become after food for Man. For the greateſt part of what we eat is not changed into the ſubſtance of our body, but goes to excrement or the acceſſions of the body, ſuch as are flegm and choler; and of that which is nutritive, much is ſpent by diſeaſes, by the internall heat, by the ambient ayr. This being thus, God, who by his providence ſo keeps the kindes of mute Creatures, that none of them periſheth, can doubtleſſe by a ſingular care watch over humane bodies, that whatſoever thence goes to the food of other men may no more be turned into their ſubſtance, then poyſons or medicines: And the rather, becauſe it is evident as it were by nature, that mans fleſh was not given for mans food. If it be not ſo, but ſomewhat which was added to the later body, muſt again be taken from it, yet will not this make it a body not the ſome; for even in this life happens a greater change of particles. Yea, and the [x] Butterfly is in the worm, and the ſubſtance of herbs or wine in ſome very little

[x] *Vid Plin. l.* 10. *&* 11. *c.* 32.

little Quantity, whence they are again raiſed up to their former magnitude. Wherefore, ſeeing this, and much more may be commodiouſly alledged, we have no cauſe to account the reſtitution of a diſſolved body among things impoſſible, ſeeing alſo learned Men, [y] *Zoroaſtes* among the *Chaldeans*, almoſt all the [z] *Stoicks*, and among the *Peripateticks* [a] *Theopompus* beleeved it not onely poſſible, but that it ſhould indeed come to paſſe.

y *Vid. Clem. Strom.* 5.
z *Nath. Carpentar.*
a *Diog. Laert. init.*

XVI. The excellent ſanctity of Chriſtian precepts. And firſt about the worſhip of God.

The ſecond thing wherein Chriſtian Religion excells all other, that are, or have been, or can be imagined, is the exceeding ſanctity of Precepts both in things pertaining to the worſhip of God, and the reſt. The *Pagan* Rites almoſt all the world over, as *Porphyry* [b] ſhews at large, and the Sea-voyages of our times do confirm, were full of cruelty. For in moſt places, the cuſtome was to appeaſe their Gods with humane [c] bloud: a cuſtome, which neither the *Grecian* Learning, nor the *Roman* Laws took away. And thoſe moſt ſacred Myſteries either of *Ceres*, or *Liber pater*, were moſt full of all obſcenity, as appeared after the veil of their ſecrecy was taken off:

b *De abſtinent. unde Cyril.* 4. *cont. Jul.*
c *De Britannis vid. Plin.* 36. 1.

which *Clemens* [d] *Alexandrinus* and others [e] largely declare. Moreover the daies consecrate to the honour of their Gods, were celebrated with such spectacles, as *Cato* [f] was ashamed to be present at. Now although the *Judaic* Religion had in it nothing unlawfull or undecent, yet to keep the people who were prone to Idolatry from departing from the truth, it was encumbred with many precepts of such things, as of themselves were neither good nor evil: namely, slaying of beasts, Circumcision, the exact rest of the Sabbath, and the Inrerdiction of sundry sorts of meats. Some whereof the *Mahumetans* have borrowed, adding to them the prohibition of wine. But the Christian Religion teacheth to worship God the purest spirit, with spirituall Purity, [g] and with such works [h] as of their own nature, without any command, are most fit to be done, So, it commandeth not the flesh [i] to be circumcised, but the lusts of the flesh: not to cease from all work, but that which is [k] unlawful: not to offer unto God the bloud, or fat of beasts, but if need be, to sacrifice our own bloud [l] for a testimony to his truth: and to beleeve, what what we give of our estates to the poor

d *In Protreptico.*
e *Arnobius maximè.*
f *Martial. ep. 1. Gel. 18. 13. Val. Max. 2. 10*
g Ioh. 4.24.
h Rom. 12.1.
i Ro. 2. 28, 29 Phil. 3. 3.
k 1 Cor. 5.8.
l 1 Cor. 10. 16. Heb 12, 4.

is

is given to [m] God: not to abſtain from certain kindes of meats and drinks, but to uſe both with that moderation, [n] which is convenient for our health; and ſometimes, by faſting [o] to ſubdue the body to the ſoul, that it may be the better raiſed to the things above. But the chief part of Religion is manifeſtly placed in a pious [p] confidence, whereby we, being compoſed to faithfull [q] obedience, rely wholly upon [r] God, and without doubting [s] beleeve his promiſes: whence alſo [t] hope ſprings, and ſincere love, both to God and our neighbour, ſo that we obſerve his Laws, not [u] ſervilely, for fear of puniſhment, but to pleaſe him, and have him, accotding to his infinite Goodneſſe, our [x] Father and Rewarder. Farther, we are commanded to [y] pray; not that we may obtain riches or honours, and other ſecular things that have proved hurtfull to thoſe that have moſt deſired them; but firſt the things which are for Gods Glory; and for our ſelves, ſo much of this worlds good, as nature wants, leaving the reſt to Divine Providence, not overmuch caring, which way God ſhall diſpoſe of them: But the things which leade unto eternity, thoſe we are taught to ask with all fervency,

that

m Mat. 6. 4.
n Luk. 21. 34
o Mat. 6. 18.
p Joh. 12. 44.
q Luk. 11. 28.
r Mat. 21. 21.
s Rom. 4. 20.
t Heb. 6. 2.
u Ro. 8. 15.
x Rom. 8.
y Mat. 6. 10.

that is, pardon of all our sins past, the aid of the Spirit for the time to come; whereby fortified against all terrors and temptations, we may persevere in the way of Piety unto the end. This is the worship of God in Christian Religion: then which certainly nothing can possibly be devised more worthy of God.

XVII. Next about the offices of humanity we owe to our neighbor, though he hath trespass us.

Of the same race are the duties required toward our neighbour. The Religion of *Mahumet* born in Arms breaths nothing but Arms, and by Arms is propagated. So the *Laconian* Institutes, most commended among the *Grecians*, even by *Apollo's* Oracle, were all directed to puissance in War, as * *Aristotle* notes, and blames them for it. But the same *Aristotle* saith amisse himself, That War is natural against *Barbarians*, when the contrary is true, that nature hath constituted amity and society amongst all Men. For what is more unjust [x] then for single acts of murder to be be punished with death, and destructions of whole nations as an honourable atchievement to be glorified with triumphs? And yet by what other means but by Wars, oftentimes openly * unjust (as

* *Polit* 7.14.

x *Senec ep.* 96. *de ira.* l. 2.8

* *Si qua fores tellus fulvum qua mitteret aurum, Holla erat. Petron.*

(as themſelves confeſſe of the War upon [y] *Sardinia* and *Cyprus*) did that ſo celebrious City of *Rome* riſe to ſo great renown? And indeed generally, as moſt worthy Hiſtorians [z] have related, Robbery out of their own bounds, moſt nations accounted no diſhonour. [a] *Ariſtotle* and *Cicero* make revenge a part of valour. The [b] *Gladiators* mutual ſlaughter were to the *Pagans* among their publike plays. To expoſe [c] their children was ordinary. The *Hebrews* truly had a better Law, a more holy diſcipline; yet being a people of unruly paſſions, ſome of their infirmities were winked at, or indulged, as their eagerneſſe againſt the ſeven Nations [d], that had merited ex-

y *Polyb. Hiſt* l. 1. *Florus* l. 2.
z *Thucyd* l. 1. *Juſtin* 43 3.
a *Apud veteres latrocinari adeo infame non erat, ut & gloriæ duceretur. Scholiaſt. in Odyſſ.* T.
a *Nicomach.* 4. 11. *Servile, ſi contumelioſè tractetur, id tolerare, Cic.* 2. *de invent. & ad Attic. Odi hominem & odero; utinam ulciſci poſſem.*
b *Vid. Lact.* l. 2. *Tertul. de Spect.* 19.
c *Juſtin. Apol.* 2. *Tert. Apol.* c 9.
d *Exo.* 34. 11, 12. *Deut.* 7. 2, 3.

tirpation. Wherewith not contented, they had enlarged their hatred to all people different from themſelves; the marks whereof to this day appear in their prayers [e] conceived againſt the Chriſtians: But to ſatiate their paſſion by the [f] judgement of retaliation; to kill the man-ſlayer by the private hand of a Kinſman was permitted by Law. Now the Law of Chriſt wholly [g] forbids

e *V. Libel. precum aditum Venetiis forma min.*
f *Lev.* 24. 20. *Deut* 19 21. & *Mat.* 5. 38, 43, 44.

bids to return injury whether in word or deed, leſt the malice we reprove in other, we again approve by imitation: It commands to do good, to the good eſpecially: but to the evil too, after Gods example, from whoſe Goodneſſe we have received Sun, Stars, Ayr, Windes, Showrs, as common gifts to all mankinde,

Of the conjunction of Male and Female.

The Conjunction of Male and Female, whereby mankinde is propagated, is a thing moſt worthy of the care of Laws. It is no wonder it was neglected by the *Pagans*, when the Gods whom they adored, are famous for their [h] Whoredomes and Adulteries. I might for modeſty ſake cover in ſilence the mixrures of Males with Males, according to the examples of their Gods, into whoſe number was refer'd, upon that ſcore, *Ganymed*, and afterward *Antinous*. The ſame Impurity is alſo frequent with the *Mahumitanes*, among the *Chynois* and other nations it is allowed Lawfull. And the *Greek* Philoſophers [i] ſeem to have taken pains to impoſe upon a foul thing, a fair and comely title. Thoſe *Greeks*, the moſt [k] eminent of them having praiſed a Community of women, what have they elſe done, but turned the whole city into

h *V. Clem. protrept. Arnob. l. 4. Naz. 1. cont. Iul. Theodor. l. 3.*

i *Lucian de Amor Naz. 3. cont. Iu. Tertul. de Anim Chriſtianam ſapientiam præferens Socraticæ: Nec nova inferens dæmonia, ſed vetera depellens; nec adoleſcentiam vitians, ſed omni bono pudoris informans.*

into a Common Stews? The very Animals [l] ſome of them obſerve a kinde of conjugal Covenant: how much more ſhould the divineſt Creature, Man? That he might not ſpring out of uncertain ſeed, and ſo the mutuall affection, that nature hath kindled between the Parent and the children be utterly extinguiſhed. The Hebrew Law forbids indeed all uncleanneſſe, but allows one man many wives, [m] and gives the Husband a Right to diſmiſſe his wife [n] for every cauſe. Which at this day is in uſe among the *Mahumetans*, and was, of old, among the *Greeks* and *Latines*; with ſo great licence, that their wives were cut to uſe, and lent for a time by the [o] *Laconians*, [p] and by *Cato*. But the moſt perfect Law of Chriſt pierceth to the very roots of vices, and condemneth him that hath but aſſaulted any womans chaſtity or defloured her with his luſtfull eyes, as [q] guilty in the judgement of God, who beholds the heart, of ſin, deſired though not performed. And ſeeing all true friendſhip is perpetuall and indiſſoluble, juſtly hath it required That Tye to be ſuch that contains, with the ſociety of affections, the Communion of bodies [r] too; which without queſtion doth

l *Plin. l.* 10. 33. *De palumbum caſtitate coniugali V. Parphyr. de non eſu An.* 3.

m Deut. 17. 16, 17. *Chryſoſt.* 1 *Cor.* 11. *Ioſeph. Ant.* 16. *Mos nobis patrius eodem tempore plures habere uxores.*

n Deut. 24. 1, 2, 3. Dev. 21. 14.

o *Herodot. lib* 6.

p *Plutarch. in Cat. vi & Lycurgo.*

q Mat. 5. 28.

r Mat. 5. 32. 9. 9.

doth more conduce also to the good education of the Children. Among the *Pagans* some few Nations were content with single Wives, as the *German* and *Romans*. This is the use of Christians; [f] that the affection which the wife entirely bestows unto her husband may be paid with equall [t] retribution, and that the houshold government may be more rightly ordered under one Guide, [u] nor diverse Mothers bring in discord among the Children.

[f] 1 Corinth. 7. 4. *Lactant* 6. 23. *Hieron. adv. Ocea.*

[t] *Ammian. de Persis, lib.* 23. *Per libidines varias caritas dispersa torpescit. V. & Salust. in Ingurth. Omnes pariter viles Et Claud. bel. Gild. Numero languet pietas.*

[u] *Eurip. Androm.*

XIX. Of the use of temporal Goods.

To come to the use of such things as are commonly called Goods: we know, Thefts were permitted by some *Pagan* Nations, namely the *Egyptians* [x] and *Spartans*; and they that permitted not the like to private persons made it their imployment in publick, as the Roman Orator [y] once said, if they did restore to every one their own. The *Hebrews* indeed did not such things: yet were they permitted to take use [z] of strangers, their disposition being favoured by their law, that promised riches [a] among the rest,

[x] *Died. Sic. l.* 1. *Plut. Lycurgo.*

[y] *Cic. apud Lact. epitome cap* 1.

[z] *Deut.* 23. 15.

[a] *Levit.* 26. 5 *Deut.* 28.

reſt, to the obſerver of it. But the Chriſtian Law not only prohibits [b] all kinde of injuſtice, and that with reſpect to all perſons: but alſo fotbids us to place our ſtudy [c] in thoſe periſhing things: becauſe our minde is not able wish ſufficient diligence to attend the care of two ſeverals that do each require the whole man, and oft-times diſtract us diverſe waies. And again, both in getting and keeping riches there is a ſollicitude [d], that draws with it a kinde of ſervitude and vexation, and ſo corrupteth the delight we hope for out of riches: And the things wherewith nature is contented, are but few and thoſe parable [e], without much labour or expence. Neverthelesſe if God ſhall indulge unto us more then what is neceſſary, we are not commanded to throw it into the Sea, as ſome Philoſophers [f] have unwiſely done: nor to detain it without uſe, nor to ſupply out of our ſtore the needs of other men, either by giving [g] or lending to them that ask, as it beſt becomes men who beleeve themſelves to be the Procurators and Stewards of God the Almighty Father. For a benefit well beſtowed is Treaſure full of good hope, and is neither ſubject to the violence of theeves [h],

b *Mat.* 7.12. *Eph.*5.3.

c *Mat.*6.24. 13.22. *Luk.*8.14. 1 *Tim.*6.9.

d *Mat* 6.34. *Phil.*4.6.

e 1 *Tim.*6. 7, 8.

f *Habet hoc de Ariſtippo Laert. & Suid. de Cratete Philoſtrato.*

g Mat.5.42. Luk,6 35. 1 Tim, 6.17 18

h Mat, 6.2(

nor

nor to the variety of other accidents. Of this true and sincere liberality an admirable example is left us by the Primitive Christians; when even from *Macedonia* and *Achaia* was sent relief to *Palestine*[i], just as if the whole world were but one family. And there is added in the Law of Christ, that caution also, that our beneficence be not defloured by any expectation of recompence[k] or glory: The gift loseth its reward with God, if beside God it look at any other representation. Now that no man may, as the manner is, cover his tenacity with his pretext a fear, lest himself in his old age, overtaken by some calamity should have need of what he is required to give in Alms, our Law promiseth a speciall care[l] for such as keep those precepts: and to cherish their confidence remiydes them of Gods Providence[m], conspicuous in feeding wilde beasts und cattell, and in adorning the herbs and flowers. Now it were an unworthy thing to disbeleeve so good, so powerfull a God, as an ill Debtor, nor to trust him longer then we hold possession of a pledge.

i Rom. 15.25, 26.

k Mat. 6.1, 2.

l Mat. 6.32.

m Mat. 7.26.

XX. Other Laws forbid perjury, but the Christian

Christian Law requires us to abstain from swearing [o] altogether, without necessity: and to be such punctual keepers of our word and lovers of truth in all our speech, that there may be no need to exact an oath from us at all. Briefly there can be nothing sound out, either in the *Grecian* Philosophies, or in the sentences of the *Hebrews* or other Nations, that is excellent, but it is comprehended here and established by Divine Authority: namely, concerning Modesty [p] and Temperance, and Goodnesse, and discreet Behaviour; concerning [q] Prudence; the office of Magistrates [r] and Subjects; of Parents [s] and children, of Masters and Servants, and of married Persons, one toward another: but especially touching vices to be shunned which by a fair shew of vertue deceived most of the *Greek* and *Romans*, to wit, the desires of Honours and Glory [t]. Lastly, the sum of all Precepts admirable for the solid brevity, is this: To love [u] God above all things, and our neighbour as our selves; that is, to do to another what we would have done unto our own selves [x].

Of swearing and other precepts.

o Mat. 5. 33.

p 1 Pet. 3. 2.

q Mat. 10. 16.

r 1 Tim. 2. 2.

s Co. 3. 20, 21

t Mat. 18. 4.

u Mat. 9. 18.

x Luk. 6. 31.

Happily some may here oppose against the excellency of Christs Doctrine, wch we

Answer to an Objection of the Controversies amongst Christians.

we commend, the great Difference of Opinious among Christians, whence is sprung also a multitude of Sects. But our Answer's ready: That the same accident befals almost all Arts whatsoever, partly through the imbecillity of human Understanding, partly because judgment is overswayed by affection. Yet are those varieties of Opinions wont to consist within the bounds of cerrain truths, agreed on, whence arguments are drawn, in disputations of the Questions. As in the Mathematicks it is disputed, whether a Circle may be quadrated; it is agreed on all hands, that equall parts being taken away from equals, the Remainders are equall: The like we see in Physicks, Medicine and other Arts. So also that discrepance of opinions amongst Christians could not spoil the Harmony of the principal points, that is, the agreement in those Precepts from which we have especially taken estimation of Christian Religion; the certainty whereof is apparent in this, that whosoever in the heat of their odious quarrels seek out matter of difference, do not proceed so far as to deny those things commanded by Christ; no not they who will not compose their life after that Rule. And if

if any one will be so absurd as to contradict them, he must be numbred with the Philosophers that denied the whiteness of Snow. For as these are refelled by sense, so are they by the consent of all Christian nations, and of the books written by the Primitive Christians, and their immediate successors, and the followlng doctors of the Church, even such as sealed the faith of Christ with their bloud. What all these acknowledge to be the doctrine of Christ must be accounted so by every upright Judge, as we beleeve *Plato*, *Xenophon*, and other Socratists concerning the doctrin of *Socrates*, the School of the *Stoicks* in those things which their Master *Zeno* taught.

XXII. Farther of the excellency of Christian Religion, from the eminency of the Master

The third point wherein we said Christian Religion excels all other, which are or may be devised, is the manner whereby it was delivered and propagated. Where, first we must look upon the Authour of the Religion. The Authours of the *Grecian* wisdom confessed themselvs the uncertainty of their doctrins, saying, Truth was as it were drowned in a[y] deep well, and our mind, like the night-owl to the Suns light, is[z] dim-sighted to behold things Divine. And none of them, but was some way[a] vitious, either[b] for flatte-

y *Democrit. apud Cit. in Acad.*

z *Arist Met. 2. 1.*

a *Socratis laudatissimi iracundiam, Porphyrii verbis notat Cyril. 6. adv. Iul.*

b *Plato, Aristip.*

ry

ry of Princes, or for impure love, or for ſnarling impudence. All are convinced of envy one toward another by this evident Argument, their contentions about words or things of no moment: and of Coldnes in Gods ſervice, for that, when they beleeved one God, laying him aſide, they worſhipped others, and ſuch as they beleeved to be no Gods, making the cuſtom of the people the rule by which they ſquared out their Religion. Laſtly, of the reward of piety, they aſſerted nothing firmly, as is manifeſt in that laſt diſcourſe of *Socrates* before his death. To proceed, *Mahumet* was the Author of a Religion far and wide diſperſed, but he was all his life given over to luſt, which his own followers do not deny. And the reward he promiſed conſiſting in Feaſts and Venery, he gave no aſſurance it ſhould ere be extant; for his body is not ſaid to have returned to life again, nay, to this hour lies buried at *Medina*. Next for the *Hebrew* Law-giver *Moſes*. He He was indeed a rare man, but not excu-
c Ex.4.2,10. ſed from all blame, ſeeing with much regret, he at laſt undertook the Meſſage God ſent by him to the King of *Egypt*,
d Nu.20.12. and ſhewed ſome diffidence [d] of Gods promiſe about drawing water from the Rock,

Rock, as the *Hebrews* do confeſſe. Neither did he obtain ſcarce any part of that reward he promiſed his people by the Law, being vexed in the deſart with perpetual ſeditions, [e] and not entring into the land of Promiſe. But, Chriſt is ſet forth by his diſciples, without the leaſt ſpot [f] of ſin, and by his enemies is not accuſed of any fault that can be proved by competent witneſſes. What he preſcribed to other, he performed himſelf. For the commands laid upon him by God he faithfully fulfill'd, in all his life moſt [g] innocent, of injuries and torments moſt [h] patient, (as he ſhewed in enduring the Croſſe) moſt charitable to all men, even to his enemies, yea to them that cruelly nail'd him to the croſſe, at once ſuffering their malice, and praying God to forgive them. Then the reward he promiſed his followers, himſelf is ſaid and proved to have attained in a moſt eminent way. After his Reſurrection he was ſeen, heard and felt of many: He aſcended into Heaven in the ſight of the Twelve. That he received ſupreme Power there, is demonſtrated by the Variety of Tongues [i] they had not learnt, and other marvellous Gifts he powred down upon his Followers, according to his

[e] Exo. 12.
[f] Ioh. 8. 46.
[g] 1 Pet. 2. 22
[h] Mat. 26, 50
[i] Act. 2, 3, 4. 2 Cor. 12, 12.

s Ioh.14.12, 17,28. Mar.16.17.

his promise [s] before he left them. All which will not suffer us to doubt, neither of his faith, nor of his Power to render us that reward, which he hath promised. And thus have we collected that this religion herein also is eminent above others, because the Master thereof, himself performed what he commanded, and what he promised, himself obtained.

XXIII. From the admirable propagation of this Religion.

Let us now consider the effects of that Doctrine whereof he was the Authour. Which indeed if we mark them well, are of such a nature, that if God hath any care of humane affairs, the Doctrine can be beleeved to be no lesse then Divine.

t *Vid. Adam Bremens. & Helmoldum.*
u *V. Act. Con. universal.*
x *V. Osorium in Lusit.*
y *Euseb. 6. 34 Liturg. Copt.*
z *V. Er. Alv.*
a *V. Tertul. Cyp. August. & Concil.*
b *V. Acost. & alios de reb. Amer.*

It was a thing becoming the Divine Providence, to take care that the best things might be most common, and of largest extent. So is Christian Religion; which we see is taught through all Europe, yea in the utmost recesses of the North [t]: and through all *Asia*, the Islands [x] of the Ocean not excepted; through [y] *Egypt* also, through *Ethiopia* [z] and some other parts of *Africk*: and lastly through *America* too. Nor is it so only in our time, but in former ages, as appears by all histories, by the books of Christians,

Christians, by the Acts of Synods by the ancient Tradition still preserved even among *Barbarians*, of the Journeys and Miracles of S. *Thomas* [c], *Andrew* [d] and other Apostles. How far the name of Christ was spread in their times, among the *Brittans*, *Germans*, and other remote nations, is noted by *Clemens* [e], *Tertullian* and others. What Religion is there that can equal the Christian in so large a possession? If you name *Paganism*, you alledge our name, not our Religion. For they adored not the same deity; but some the Stars, some the Elements, some the Beasts, some things of no subsistence: neither had they one rule, nor any common Master of their Religion. The Jews indeed are dispersed, but all one Nation, and since the time of Christ their Religion hath received no notable encrease. Yea their Law hath been made known more by Christians, then by themselves. *Mahumetism* hath enlarged it self into Countreys enough, but not alone: for in the same Countries there is a mixture of the Christian Religion, and

c *Euseb. in fine 1. Hist. Eccles. & Ruffin. l. 9. Sepulchrum eius Ap. in terra Caremandel etiã nunc monst.*

d *Euseb. init. 3. Origin. ad Gen.*

e *Christum is dicit omnibus notum gen. Sirom. 5. Tertul. adv. Iud. Christi regnum ubique porrigitur. Irenaeus l. 2. cap. 3. Sicut Sol in universo mundo unus & idem est, Sic & lumen, praedicatio veritatis ubique lucet & illuminat omnes homines, qui volunt ad cognitionem veritatis venire. Et Orig. Arnob. 2. Athanas. in Epist. Synod. ap. Theod. l. 4. c. 3. ad 1 Cor. & orat. Egreg. Christum esse Deum.*

in

in some places, the Christians are the greater number, when yet *Mahumetans* are not found in many parts where Christians are.

XXIV. The infirmity and simplicity of the first Teachers thereof;

Follows now the Consideration, by what hands and instruments Christian Religion was carried so far that in this respect also it may be compared with others. We observe how most men are so affected that they easily are drawn after the examples of Princes and great men. And the more if the examples be strengthened with law and force. Hence had the *Pagan* Religions, hence had the *Mahumetan* their encrease, but the first Teachers of Christian Religion, were not only without Command, but of a very low fortune, Fishermen, Tent-makers, and of the like condition. And yet by their labours, the Doctrine within about thirty years was propagated not alone through all the parts of the *Roman* Empire, but even to the *Parthians* and *Indians*. Nor at the beginning only, but for three centuries, by the hands of private men, without any threats, without any temporal encouragements, notwithstanding all the opposition of secular rulers, was this Religion promoted; so that before

before *Constantine* [g] gave his name to Christianity, this was not the lesser part of the *Romanus* world. The Masters of maners, among the *Grecians*, were commendable for their other arts, as the *Platonists* for *Geometry*, the Peripateticks for natural history, the *Stoicks* for *Sophistry*, the *Pythagoreans* for *Musick*; not a few of them, as *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Theophrastus*, were graced with a kinde of admirable eloquence. But the first Doctors of Christianism had not the aid of any such Art: their speech was with great simplicity [h] and without alluring Ornaments, contemning naked Precepts, Promises, Threats, which having not of themselves and efficacy equal to such great progresses, we must needs conclude, either miracles, or the secret assistance of God prospered their work, or both.

[g] *Iam suo ævo Tert. dixerat, 2. Apol. Hesterni sumus, & vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, Senatum, forum; Solа vobis reliquimus Templa.*

[h] *Prudenter id notatum* Chrysost. t. *ad* Cor. 1. 17.

XXV.

To which consideration adde, that the first Disciples and Followers of those Christian Doctors had not mindes unprepossessed of certain former Religions, and therefore ductile and easie to be framed after a new form, as they that first admitted *Mahumets* Law: much less prepared by any previous disposition or institution, as the *Hebrews* were by

The great Impediments to hinder men from embracing the Christian Religion, or to deter them from profession it.

Circumcision and the Knowledge of one God disposed to the receiving of *Moses* Law: But on the contrary they were pre-ingaged to opinions & (that second nature) custom, repugnant to those new Doctrines; having been bred up, and by the authority of their country Laws, and of their parents confirmed in *Pagan* idolatries, or Jewish Ceremonies. To this obstruction was added another as great, that is, most grievous sufferings, which presented themselves to the professors at the very entrance of Christianity, to be endured or fear'd for that cause. For seeing humane nature is abhorrent from such evils, it follows that the causes of such evils are not undertaken without much reluctancy. The door of preferment was long shut against the Christians, the way lay open to sequestration and exile. These were lighter matters. They were condemned to the Mines, they were afflicted with torments, the most cruel that could be invented, to the death often; so that as the Writers of those times do testifie, by no famine, by no war, by no pestilence, was a greater multitude of men consumed at one time. Neither were the ways of death vulgar, but burnings [i] alive, Crosses, and

[i] *Domitius Ulpianus nobilis I.C. libros 7. scripsit, quibus pœnis affici deberent Christiani.* Lact. 5 2.

and Punishments of that sort which without greatest horror we cannot read or think upon, And this cruelty that continued without any long breathing spaces (and those intervals not every where) till about the Reign of *Constantine* in the *Roman* Empire, elsewhere longer, was so far from diminishing the Christians, that on the contrary, their blood was compared to seed, so fast did they grow up again after the cutting down. Here also let us compare with the Christian other Religions. The *Greeks* and other *Pagans*, accustomed to vaunt and amplifie what was their own, number some few, who for their Doctrine suffered death, some *Gymnosophists*, *Socrates*, and a few more. Neither can it be easily denyed, but these most noted persons were emboldned with a desire of transmitting their fame unto posterity. But among the Christians that suffered death for their Doctrine, were very many *Plebeians*, scarce known to their own Neighbors, Women, Virgins, Youths, who had no appetite nor probable hope of a lasting Name: And few of them are by name recorded in the *Martyrologies* in respect of the great [k] number that suffered for

[k] *Ut Massa candida trecentorum Carthagine, quorum memoria in Martyrologio Rom. 24. Augusti, plurimi in Africa sub Severo: sub Valeriano.* Antiochiæ *& in* Arabia, Cappadocia, *&* Mesopotamia: *In* Phrygia, *in* Ponto *sub Maxim.*, &c.

the cause, being onely honored with a general remembrance. It is worth our observation by the way, that by an easie simulation, as the casting of a little incense upon the Altar, very many might have escaped death; which cannot be said of them who whatsoever thoughts they concealed in their hears, certainly in their open actions complyed with the Vulgar manners; so that to have dyed for the honor of God, is an honor hardly communicated to any other but Jews and Christians: nor to the Jews at all, after the times of Christ: In former times, but to a few of them, if they be compared with Christians; more of whom in some one province suffered for the law of Christ, then ever did of Jews: al whose patience of that kinde is almost reduced to the times of *Manasses*, and *Antiochus*. Wherefore when the Christian Religion, in this part also, so infinitely excels all other, it deserveth to be prefer'd before them. From all that so great multitude of every kinde and sex, divided by so many places, and who feared not to dye for this Religion, we must conclude there was some cause of so great constancy; and no other cause can be imagined, but the light of Truth,

ſruth, and the Spirit of God.

Now if any one be not ſatisfied with the Arguments hitherto brought for defence of Chriſtian Religion, but deſire more cogent Reaſons, he muſt remember that, according to the divers matter, there are divers ways of proof. One way in the mathematicks, another in phyſicks, another in Morals, and yet another in queſtion of fact: wherein verily we oughr to ſtand to unſuſpected teſtimonies; otherwiſe not onely all uſe of Hiſtory is loſt, and a good part of medecine; but alſo all Piety 'twixt parents & children, who are known [m] by no other means. It was the divine pleaſure that the matter of our belief, to the end our faith might be imputed to us asobedience, ſhould not be ſo evident as things perceived by ſenſe or demonſtration; and yet ſo evident as is ſufficient to make faith, & beget a perſwaſion in mindes not pertinacious and perverſe; the Goſpel being a touchſtone and tryal of wits, not paſt all hope of cure. For ſeeing the foreſaid Arguments have merited the aſſent of ſo many honeſt underſtanding men, it is

XXVI. Concluſion maintaining the former proofs.

l *Ariſt. ad Nic. l. 1. Exacta enim tractatio non pari modo in omni genere quærenda eſt. Id. Metaph. 1. Certitudo Mathemati. ca non in omnibus rebus quærenda eſt. Chalcid. ad Timæum ex Platonis ſententia: Credulitatem omnes doctrinas præcedere, maxime cum non quorumlibet, ſed magnorum & prope divinorum virorum ſit aſſertio.* Homer. m *Generis nemo ſui conſcius ipſe eſt, exactiſſimo ſc. ſciendi genere.*

manifeſt the cauſe of other mens Incredulity is not the want of proof but their own perverſeneſſe, unwilling that ſhould be true, which croſſes their luſts[n]; it being too hard a task for them to deſert the honors and profits of the world, as they muſt do, if they receive the Goſpel of Chriſt, and ſubmit to his Precepts. This is the more apparent, becauſe many other hiſtorical narrations they entertain as true; the truth whereof depends onely upon authority, without any other remaining impreſſions of it, ſuch as confirm the hiſtory of Chriſt, partly by the confeſſion of the Jews now living, partly by the Chriſtian Congregations every where, which could not be without ſome cauſe. And laſtly, ſeeing that ſo laſting continuance of the Chriſtian Religion, and the ſo large propagation of it can be referred to no humane efficacy; it follows, that it muſt be aſcribed to Miracles; or if any deny it to have come to paſſe by Miracles, this very thing, that without a Miracle ſuch a Doctrine hath received ſo great increaſe and ſtrength, is to be accounted greater [o] then any Miracle.

[n] *Tractat hoc pulcrè Chryſoſt. 1 Cor. 3 in princip. Idem ad Demetr. Quod præceptis non creditur, ex inertia ad implenda quæ præcepta ſunt venit.*

[o] Chryſoſt. 1 Cor. 1 *fine* Auguſt. *de C. D. lib.* 22, *cap.* 5.

Concluſion.

Conclusion.

THe use of all is briefly this, Let all Christians lift up pure hands unto God the Creator of all things, confiding in his providence, without whose permission nothing comes to pass, and fearing him above all, who hath equal power both over soul and body. Let them believe in God the Father, and in Jesus too, in whose name alone there is salvation; according to whose will, if they compose their lives, they shall live eternally. The holy Doctrine of Christ let them carefully keep, as their most precious treasure; and unto the reading of the sacred Scripture, written so faithfully, and with so divine a spirit, that it clearly contains all necessary truth, Let them bring an humble and obedient minde, whereby they shall apprehend whatsoever is needful to be believed, hoped for or done, and shall cherish in themselves that spirit, which is a pleade of their further happinesse. Chiefly let them have a care of mutual concord, which Christ at his departure so earnestly commended to his Disciples. One is our Doctor, Jesus Christ;

into one name are we all baptized, that we may not fall asunder into sects: Let us be wise unto sobriety, every one according to that measure of knowledge he hath received; the weaker sort must be won with mildnesse, and the stronger must bear with the weaker, and excel them also in moderation: And until God reveal the truth to the dissenting brethren, the points agreed on must be firmly held and put in practice. Now we know but in part, the time shall come when our knowledge shall be compleated: Mean while let every one imply his Talent, and do his best endeavour to gain others unto Christ, not onely by good instructions, but the example of an holy life, that all men may see the goodnesse of our Lord, in the good behavour of his servants, and behold the purity of his Law in our sincere obedience.

FINIS.

Appendix,

HUGO GROTIUS

HIS IVDGEMENT

IN

Sundry Points Controverted.

TRANSLATED

Out of his VOTE for the Churches Peace.

Publiſhed by the Author

AN. 1642.

DISPUTANDI PRURITUS EST ECCLESIARUM SCABIES.

H. WOTTON. *ad Regem.*

London, Printed by *A. M.* for *William Lee*, at the *Turks Head* in *Fleetſtreet*. 1653.

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Hugo

HVGO GROTIVS

HIS
Iudgement in ſundry points controvered.

Of the Authors Moderation and ſtudy of peace.

BEing from my tender years bred up in the ſacred Scripture, but under Teachers of ſeveral opinions in Religion, I eaſily perceived it to be the will of Chriſt, that all they who have their name from him, and by him deſire to partake of happineſſe, ſhould be one among themſelves, as He and the Father are[a] one. Nor onely one in minde,

a Jo. 17. 11, 21, 22, 25.

minde, but alſo by that Communion which is viſible, and is ſeen eſpecially in the unity of Government, and the participation of Sacraments: For, the Church is, or ought to be, a certain [b] Body; which Body Chriſt, whom God hath made Head thereof, would have to be compacted and fitly [c] joyned together, and every one to be baptized into the [d] ſame name, and to eat of one conſecrated bread, that ſo they might more & more grow together, & ſhew themſelves to be one Body [e]. I was extreamly pleaſed with that beauty of the ancient Church, without controverſie Catholick, when all Chriſtians (except ſome little parts ſeparated, and thereby eaſie to be known) were bound together by the commerce of their *formatæ*, from the *Rhene* to *Africk* and *Egypt*, from the *Britiſh* ocean even to beyond *Euphrates*. For this end I ſaw that ſchiſms and diviſions of that conſpicuous Body were ſeverely interdicted [f]; and to this purpoſe principally were the *Epiſtles* of *Paul*, and of *Clement* to the *Corinthians*; together with many Writings of *Optatus* and *Auſtin* againſt the *Donatiſts*. Moreover, I began to conſider, that both my own and many other mens Forefathers were

b *Rom.* 12. 5. 1 *Cor.* 12. 12. *Eph.* 1. 23. *Coloſ.* 1. 18.
c *Eph.* 4. 16.
d 1 *Cor.* 12. 13.
e 1 *Cor.* 10. 17
f *Rom* 17. 7. 1 *Cor.* 1. 10. *Gal.* 5. 20.

were men of piety, enemies to vice and superstition, and such as well instructed their families to the worship of God and love of their neighbor; whose departure out of this life I always thought to have been blessed: Nor was I ever moved to alter this good opinion of them by *Franciscus Junius*, a man of such equity and moderation, that for it some other Protestants more hot-liv'rd, did both think ill, and speak ill of him. Further, I did understand by the relation of my Elders, and by written Histories, that there arose men afterward, who said, that Church wherein our Ancestors lived, wa by all means to be deserted: Nor did they onely desert it themselves (some even before they were excommunicate) but also gathered new Assemblies, which they also called Churches: There they erected new Presbyteries, they preach'd, they administred the Sacraments; and that in many places against the Edicts both of Kings and Bishops: And they said in defence of their doings, even as if they had commission from heaven, such as the Apostles had, *That we must obey God rather then men.* Nor staid they here, but having traduced Kings as Idolaters and Servants to the Pope, they stirred up

up the common people to armed meetings, to seditions against the Magistrates, to break down Images of the Saints, and deface Churches. Lastly, to civil Wars, and open Arms against Kings. I saw, by this means, was wasted every where much Christian blood: but mens manners, for the most part, especially in time of prosperity, nothing at al amended; nay, by long War grown more wilde, and infected with the contagion of forraign vices. As I grew in years, I grew more sensible of these things, and more compassionate, & I began both to consider with my self, and to confer with others, about the causes of so great a mischief. They that had departed, to defend what they had done, strongly affirmed the doctrine of that Church, which adhered to the principal sea, was corrupt with many heresies & idolatry: which made me enquire into the Doctrines of that Church, and read books written on both sides, and the writings too of the present state and doctrine of that Church that is in *Greece*, and of them that cohere unto it through *Asia* & *Egypt*. I found the same doctrines in the east, which were in the west, defined by general Councels: agreement about the Govern-

Government of the Church (except the controverſies with the Pope) and about the perpetual rites of the Sacraments. I proceeded farther, to read the chief Writers of old time, among which are the *African* and *Gallick*: the Writers of the three beſt ages I read all, and often; the later, as much as my buſineſſe and time would permit; eſpecially *Chryſoſtom* and *Ferom*, becauſe I ſaw theſe were eſteemed more happy in expounding the Text of ſacred Scripture, To theſe writings applying the Rule of *Vincentius Lirinenſis*, approved by the moſt learned men; I collected, what by the teſtimony of the Ancients, and impreſſions remaining to this day, was delivered *always, and every where, and conſtantly*. I ſaw the ſame remaining in that Church, which is joyned with the *Roman*. But withal I obſerved, that by the Schoolmen (more skilful in *Ariſtotle*'s Phyloſophy, then in the holy Scripture, & thoſe Ancient writers, that illuſtrated Chriſtian Religion, both in *Greek* and *Latin*) many Doctrines were introduced by a certain liberty of argumentation, not by authority of univerſal Councels: & that the doctrines eſtabliſhed in the Councels, were not by the Schoolmen commodiouſly explained:

And

And further, that amongſt the Prelates of the Church ſuch pride, & avarice, and ill maners had prevailed, that they were not ſolicitous, neither to inculcate thoſe good doctrines to the people as was fit, nor to correct the vices of the people, but took advantage, and made a gain of the peoples ignorance, and of their ſuperſtition, the daughter of ignorance, & nurſe of vices. That ancient Doctrine being thus overclouded, partly appeared not, partly being diſcoloured ſeem'd other then it was. Then judged I that this was the cauſe why there was, many ages ſince, deſired a Reformation, *i.e.* a repurgation of doctrine, both from the Scholaſtical trifles and diſputes, and from thoſe miſts which overſhadowed it: and, why at laſt (the complaints of kings & learned men having long been in vain) ſome kings ill uſed by ſome of the Popes, and elſwhere private perſons, ſet themſelves about ſuch a Reformation as they could deviſe. But yet this had not the deſired ſucceſs, for in ſeveral places were framed ſeveral confeſſions, and contradictory: And, not onely the parties that were made could never cloſe, but alſo new little parties ſprung up every day; ſo many, that none can number them. Yea, credible it is, that

new

new will ariſe perpetually, ſo fruitful is the matter and occaſion of them. When this alſo very much diſpleaſed me, and I noted the Heads of each party to carry on the buſineſs, rather with lowdneſs of noiſe, then ſtrength of arguments, I turned my ſelf to read thoſe Writers, that although they were in a divers communion, yet applyed their minde rather to heal, then to enlarge the difference. I no ſooner gave my ſelf to that ſtudy, but I ſaw they al made it their buſineſs to eſtabliſh the old un-interrupted doctrine, and to remove the forenamed impediments, both of uſeleſſe ſubtilties, and faulty practices, which either obſcure & hide, or diſcolour & blemiſh the ancient doctrine. To effect this deſign with moſt advantage unto concord, their judgement was, that every party ought not to take ſeveral ways, but al follow the ſame. Three ways there are, *ſaid they*, either the authority of an exceeding good *Pope*: or an univerſal Councel lawfully aſſembled in the interpapacy; or the Conferences of Kings, guided by the Biſhops, with purpoſe after to refer the propoſals and concluſions there to the ſea of *Rome*, as the means of Concord. Now, after that I had alſo diſcourſed with excellent men,

men, Divines & Politicians, both of the *Roman*, and of the Reformed part, I ſaw their counſels bending to the ſame point, with the Books of thoſe I mentioned before. And ſeeing this buſineſſe, not leſſe difficult then commendable, requires many helping hands, not of the firſt onely, but of the ſecond and third rank, that reaſons may be ſeconded by reaſons, and the conſent of many may overcome the contumacy of ſome, and quicken the ſlowneſſe of others; I alſo thuught it became me (after much of my life ſpent in reading thoſe writers, that love Peace more then Diviſion) to gather together what I had learned, for the uſe of poſterity.

Of his Annotations on Caſſander.

Knowing that *Caſaubon* and other great men much commended the book written by *Geogius Caſſander*, a man of a moſt gentle ſpirit, at the requeſt of the moſt religious Emperors, *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian*; I conceived it my beſt way not to attempt a new work, but to contribute ſome additional aid to to his work. That work of mine was not

not diſpleaſing in *France*, neither to them that would be called Catholicks, nor to the other that deſire the title of Reformed. I received alſo favourable judgements from other places. But from thoſe Preachers, that bear the ſway in *Holland*, I confeſſe I expected no favor: nor was I deceived in my conjecture, for very many preſently roſe up againſt me with great clamor, as there the cuſtom is, as if *Hannibal* were at the gates.

Of his Letters to Socinians.

I have been accuſed to forreign Embaſſadors of grievous hereſies, upon no other ground, but becauſe I had returned anſwer to the Letters of certain *Socinians*. And verily, I am not ſo ſtout, as to deny even to a *Pagan*, if he write unto men, that common office of humanity, which S^t *Baſil* himſelf vouchſafed to render to *Libanius*.

Of the Synod of Dort.

The pious and learned men, condemned in the *Dort* Synod, and then expelled the land, had delivered to the Rulers of

of their Countrey their opinion, which is the ſame with *Melanctons*, and hath been always defended by many in thoſe places: but their Adverſaries, not they, were the firſt men that made the ſeparation.

As to thoſe Acts of *Dort*, the *Argentoratenſes* and *Suedi* returned this as a principal part of their anſwer to *Joannes Duræus*, one who with a good minde endeavored the reconciliation of Proteſtants: That themſelves were no leſs condemned there, then they that had the ſame opinions with *Arminus*. That, whereas heretofore they that think themſelves more purely reformed then the reſt, were wont to give this anſwer to the objections out of *Calvin*, *Beza*, and others, That they were the private ſentences of thoſe Maſters: now all of that part are bound up by the publike voyce of their Synod, there is no eſcape, there is none but he is obliged to maintain thoſe horrible decrees, as *Calvin* himſelf ſpeaks. Nor do they believe brotherly words to be ſent them from the Diſciples of *Calvin*, with any other minde then that they may inſinuate themſelves, and creep into power, and when they have prevailed, caſt

out

out their brethren, as they did those out of *Holland*, and as *Luthers* Disciples were twice expelled out of the Palatinate.

Of the Bishop of Rome.

The Authority of the *Roman* Bishop would not have seemed so formidable to D. *Hall*, that he should therefore cast off all hope of reconciliation, had he known how ready the remedies are in *France* and *Spain*, to restrain the Pope from invading the rights either of the Kings or Bishops: had he considered moreover, that the King of great *Brittain* enjoys no power concerning things and persons Ecclesiastical, which the King of *Sicily* hath not also.

Of the punishment of Hereticks.

God forbid I should assent to *Calvin* and *Beza*, that such as erre about the Trinity should be burnt or put to death. For in that most difficult point, it is an easie thing to erre: and the punishment of him that erres, is so to be taught, that he may confesse his error. For, if Magistrates by the Law of *Moses* alledged by

Calvin and *Beza*, ought to ſlay them that do not well diſtinguiſh the divine perſons (which is the only thing *Melanæthon* objecteth to *Servetus*:) why not them that do confound the natures of Chriſt, which *Calvin's* diſciples object to *Luthers*? Again, if that Law ſet againſt Idolaters, muſt by way of ſimilitude be extended unto Hereticks, certainly it may much rather be executed againſt Idolaters. But now, they that number among Idolaters, all them that adhere to the Sea of *Rome*, do they not ſhew, that they abſtain from putting them to death, not out of any commiſeration, but fear of talion, and of being ſerved ſo themſelves? Which bridle of fear being once taken off, their nature would carry them into extremity.

Of the Auguſtan Confeſſion.

The Anathema's of the *Trent* Synod are not againſt the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion, but againſt the ſentences of private men: who had too bitterly traduced the doctrine of the Catholicks, that they had not ſufficiently underſtood. Yea, the Emperour *Charles* made interceſſion at *Rome*, that this Confeſſion might not be put among Books interdicted.

Of

Of the Schoolmen.

The Opinions of the Schoolmen are not to be insisted on; because neither are the Catholicks bound to defend them, neither is their authority so great, that it may obstruct the way of that peace which we so heartily desire.

Of the Spirit claimed.

Some Protestants say, they are led by publick authority of the Spirit in his word common to al Christians. As much was said by *Socinus*, *Brown*, and so many others. See into what perplexities the hearers mindes are on every side involved: *Here* (saith every sect) *is the word of God pure and sincere, according to the sense of the holy Spirit.* They know not whither to turn themselves, but must abide there where their birth or education, or hope of profit and preferment hath placed them, and applaud their own men speaking loud and confident. Could any one free men out of this Labyrinth, were it not a happy work and worthy of all acceptation?

Of the Holy Trinity.

In the words of the Patriarch *Gennadius*, and of the *Greek* Church with him, concerning the Trinity, the learned *Germans*, who ſet them out, found nothing different from the *Nicene* Faith. I know not whether in this matter your *French* wits, as more ſubtle, ſee more then other: but let them take heed, leſt that befal them, which happened to *Calvin*; who by his ſubtleties drew upon himſelf moſt grievous criminations. All men cannot clearly expreſſe what things differ really, what by reaſon, and what modally: whether the Father be more rightly ſaid to have begotten, or alwaies to beget: whether *Keckerman* rightly called the perſons *non entia*: whether *Calvin* rightly called the perſons *proprietates*: why the ſame *Calvin* is not pleaſed that the Son ſhould be ſaid *God of God*. Theſe and ſuch like, while I reade and recogitate, I praiſe the ſaying of *Irenæus*: *If any one ſhall tell us how the Son was produced of the Father, we tell him his generation is ineffable, and no man knows it.* And that of *Ruffinus* or ſome other on the Creed; *How the Father begat the Son,*

Son, I would not have thee examine, nor over-curiously thrust thy self forward into this mystery, lest perhaps by approaching too near unto that light which is inaccessible, thou lose thy eyes. *Basil* and *Nazianzen* speak after the like manner. I praise also *Marcion* the Emperour, who prohibited all disputes about those points that were once determined by Synod.

Of Servetus.

Servetus his Books, by the diligence of *Calvin*, were burnt, not at *Geneva* only, but in other places. Yet I confesse, in my life time I have seen one copy of *Servetus* his book in Latine: wherein truly I found not those things, which *Calvin* objects against him, *Michael Servetus*, by the procurement of *Calvin*, was burnt alive at *Geneva* in the year 1553. What *Melanchon* wrote of *Servetus* after that time, he had from *Calvin*. *Oecolampadius* seems to have known him in *Helvetia* before that; but he thought him fit to be exploded, not killed: But *Calvin* speaketh of himself: *I willingly acknowledge and own it, that the accuser came forth from me.* He addes, *It is not only free for the Magistrates to punish the*

corrupters of heavenly doctrine, but that, which unskilfull men will not allow to be lawfull for them, is commanded them by God. And in an Epistle to *Farellus*, touching the same *Servetus: I hope at least he will be sentenced to death.*

Of Calvins impatience.

With what humanity *Calvin* was wont do entertain such as differed from him in opinion, is apparent in his writings. *Castellio*, because he oppugned that Predestination which *Calvin* taught, he calls *nebulonem & Satanam:* Cornhertius, *& nebulonem & canem:* The writer *of the office of a pious man* in this difference of Religion (which was *Cassander*, but was thought by him to be *Balduinus*) he stileth *frontis ferreæ hominem, pietatis expertem, profanum, impudentem, impostorem*, &c. When *Balduin* had opposed himself against that writing, he cals him *hominem nihili, obscænum canem, improbum falsarium*, &c. He calls *Cassander* ἀυθάδη, *murosum, lamiam, larvam, serpentem, pestem, carnificem.* Besides, *Bucer* (I will speak what is true, though some would not hade is spoken) he did so vex, that he forced the meek man to write

write these most true words: *Judicas, prout amas vel odisti: amas autem vel odisti, prout libet.* Thou judgest according to thy love or hatred; Thou lovest and hatest as thy list is. Yea, and for his bloudy sayings *Bucer* gave him the name of *Fratricida.* This liberty of ill-speaking, *Calvin* in an Epistle to *Bucer* gently calls *impatience:* and saith, he did much struggle with it, and did gain somewhat, but had not yet gotten the victory over this beast. Reade his after-writings, and you will say indeed he profited, but from bad to worse. So well did he like, *Quod non volo, facio:* What I would not, I do. And so *Beza* confesseth, in fifteen years space, wherein he taught others the way of righteousnes, himself could not learn sobriety, nor liberality, nor veracity, but still did stick in the mire. I do not revive these things, as if I had any minde to fight with dead men, but because I observe, it usually so comes to passe, that every one imitates the manners of Him whom he hath chosen for his Master. *Melanchons* Scholars and *John Arnd's*, almost all, you shall finde of a sweet and milde disposition; *Calvin's* on the contrary, sharp, and such as they imagine God to be toward the greatest part of

mankinde. So great a matter it is, what Doctor you uſe. They that have the leaſure may do well to reade both *Caſſander*'s and *Balduin*'s Anſwers to *Calvin*, for their better knowledge of the mans diſpoſition.

Of Adam and his Innocency.

The Apoſtle *Paul* oppoſing the earthly *Adam* to the ſpirituall, conſiders *Adam* as he was firſt created, not as fallen. Whence it follows, that we have another nature from Chriſt, then we ſhould have had, if *Adam* had perſiſted in his primitive condition, and begotten his like. Yet, that a certain Innocency was in *Adam* before he ſinned, no underſtanding man can deny. Nor do I diſpute what God would have done with him, had he perſiſted in obedience. I freely leave every man to the liberty of his own judgement in this point. But, (this ſecret counſell of God being laid aſide) that a celeſtiall life was not promiſed him, but a terreſtriall only, the Scripture plainly ſpeaks. Nor could he certainly promiſe to himſelf that which God had not promiſed him. And the Law of *Moſes* it ſelf, given ſo long after, hath no

no promiſes but terreſtriall, as appears to every reader, and all the Ancients well perceived. *Cameron* taught thus in *France*. And I do not herein digreſſe from the received ſentence of the Church; I do alſo willingly ſubmit my ſelf in this point, to the judgement of the Univerſity of *Paris*.

Of Grace and Free-will.

Pelagius thought the externall predication of the word ſufficient to beget righteouſneſſe; the interior he thought to happen to ſome, but not to be neceſſary. But, that the Free-will of man is ſubjoyned and conjoyned to that grace working inwardly, this is not an errour of *Pelagius*, but Catholick ſenſe, which is acknowledged by all the writers of the three beſt Ages, and by the Biſhops of *Rome*, who anſwered the *Africk* and *Gallick* upon this queſtion. Yet doth not Grace depend upon Free-will, becauſe Grace worketh how far and how much it pleaſeth; nor leaveth working, but becauſe it will, for juſt cauſes.

Of the Body of Chriſt in the Sacrament.

That the Body of Chriſt is in the Euchariſt after a ſingular manner, D. *Rivet* acknowledgeth; he denies the manner to be ſubſtantiall. But that which the ſigns teſtifie is really and truly received, D. *Rivet's Gallick*-Confeſſion ſaith. *Calvin, Bexa*, and *Sadeel* ſay, that the Body and Bloud is received ſubſtantially, The difficulty ariſeth from the words diverſly underſtood. For D. *Rivet* by the ſubſtantial manner, underſtands the quantitative, which no Catholick would acknowledge. But, that this manner is ſo ſubſtantiall, that it is ſpirituall, the Catholicks confeſſe. The ſubſtance of every thing is that which is chief, which is active; for which the reſt are. In this Sacrament, which conſiſts of inviſible things and viſible, the chief is the body and bloud of our Lord: the reſt are accounted as accidents.

Of Juſtification.

In this controverſie of Juſtification many triumph, as if they had brought us light from heaven, that was unknown very many Ages. But I will ſincerely ſpeak, what I have learned our of much reading of the Greeks and Latins, who have

have written upon *Paul*'s Epiſtle to the *Romans*. Chriſt is our Righteouſneſſe ſo as he is our ſanctification: *i. e.* the cauſe both of our Righteouſneſſe and Sanctification. For by faith in Chriſt we are juſtified, that is, purified and freed from vices. Being thus freed, God uſeth us, loves and honours us as juſt and righteous: and in token of higheſt friendſhip gives us his holy Spirit, by whom we produce, or ought to produce, works truly heroicall, that is, heavenly. So they that were righteous *Tſadikim* are made alſo good men *Chaſidim* in the higheſt degree. Now, faith is ſaid to be imputed for righteouſneſſe, or (which is the ſame) righteouſneſſe by faith, becauſe God accounts it for an act very excellent, as of old the zeal of *Phinehas*. Of the righteouſneſſe of Chriſt imputed to us, as if we had performed it all; and of faith whoſe office it is to embrace that righteouſneſs ſo imputed, ere is not one word in the ſacred letters. That faith which is ſo much commended is this, whereby we beleeve Chriſt to have ſuffered, died, and riſen again from the dead; and therefore, thoſe things to be true which he brought us in Gods Name, either by way of precept or of promiſe.

promiſe. Mean while, 'tis true, that God forgives them, who are purged from vices, their former crimes; and that he doth for Chriſt his ſake, who hath obtained it for us: for God was not bound to forgive them. But unleſſe God had forgiven us our ſins, he would not give us that greateſt gift, which in this life can be conferred on men, his holy Spirit. For that is a ſure Teſtimony of his paternall love, and of this in the higheſt degree. That the ſayings of *Paul* tend hither, and that this is his ſenſe, both by the force of his words and the *ſeries* of his diſcourſe, we truſt we ſhall make manifeſt in our Annotations. In the mean time I entreat thoſe that doubt to reade the Greeks, *Chryſoſtom*, *Oecumenius*, *Theophylact*, or the Latines alſo, *Ambroſe* and *Hierom*; they will finde them to have thought the ſame that I ſay. And what marvell is it, if God for his righteouſneſſe approve of that righteouſneſs which himſelf hath made in us, and which is therefore called *the righteouſneſſe of God*, and which doth many waies excel the legall righteouſneſſe, and all that proceeds from human ſtrength? For God cannot chuſe but love what is

his

his own. Nor doth God, when he looks upon men converted by himſelf, and unto himſelf, look upon them as ſinners (as the word is taken in Scripture) but as purged and freed from ſin. And thence ariſeth that joyfull peace of conſcience, becauſe unto ſuch, God (as we have now ſaid) for Chriſt's ſake hath promiſed indulgence of their former crimes.

Now the honour and glory of all righteouſneſſe which is found in Chriſtians returns unto God and Chriſt. For faith is the gift of God, and by Chriſt, not by works, but by him that calleth. And this is the ſeed of righteouſneſſe: and all the fruit is eſteemed to be in the ſeed. How eaſie a way here is to a reconciliation, were it not for Scholaſtick ſubtleties and an unpeaceable minde, *Bucer* ſhews upon the ſecond Pſalm, not of *Steven*'s Edition, which is plainly corrupt and depraved, as for the moſt part the *Genevian* Editions are, but of the *Argentorate*: *Non poſſum non ſanius judicium optare quibuſdam.* &c. *I cannot but wiſh a ſounder judgement to ſome, who in theſe our times have troubled many with this paradox, That we are ſaved by faith alone.*

When

When yet they ſaw this was ſo interpreted as if they did define righteouſneſſe by the ſole opinion or perſwaſion of the minde, and did ſeclude good works. What charity now is that, which doth not vouchſafe one word to cure this malady, by ſaying, we are juſtified by faith formed or conſummate; or by faith we attain a willingneſſe to do good works, and ſo attain to righteouſneſſe; or, faith is the foundation and root of a good life, as Auſtin *ſaid. Nor is any man verily to be offended with the truth.* See the ſame *Bucer's* preface to his Commentaries upon the four Evangeliſts, which alſo is purpoſely omitted in *Steven's* edition. *Melanchthon* too, in his letters to *Joachimus Camerarius*, oft complains, the only objection againſt him was, that he praiſeth good works a little too much. But, ſaith he, I ſay, not ſuch horrid things as others, and thoſe things that are both true and profitable.

Touching Forgiveneſſe of ſin.
Luke 23. 34.

What *Eſaias* foretold, that Chriſt ſhould pray for the tranſgreſſours, the ſame *Luke* declares he did in theſe words: *Father, forgive them, for they know not what*

what they do. Here is not meant full and perfect remiſſion, which follows repentance, but remiſſion with a certain reſpect, or abſolution of a certain puniſhment which might then have been inflicted on them. Thoſe words require this ſenſe: *for they know not what they do.* For it follows not thence, that they ought to obtain a plenary pardon, which is not given but to the penitent, ſuch as they were not at that time; but that they might not be dealt with rigorouſly, to wit, by ſhutting up againſt them the waies of repentance.

Of Predeſtination.

The place *Rom.* 8.30, is carried violently by D. *Rivet* to his Predeſtination, whereas in all that Chapter the diſcourſe is of deſtination to the Croſſe: which deſtination they, when they are able, by oppoſite force avoid, or even prevent. If any man doubt of it, let him reede the Hiſtory of *Geneva* reſtored.

The diſtinction of Gods *antecedent* will, and *conſequent*, we have in *Damaſcen de orthodoxa fide*, 11.79. and more at large *in dialogo cum Manichæo* not far from the end. As for Predeſtination, it doth

doth not ſignifie in the Scriptures that which many conceive, but an Ordination of thoſe benefits whereby we are conducted to ſalvation, and is alwaies taken in the better ſenſe.

Touching certainty of ſalvation.

Auſtin and other Fathers teach, that we are indeed certain of the reward, if we perſevere: and this is the faith which cannot be deceived: but of perſeverance it ſelf we are uncertain: yet ſo, that the more every one proceedeth in piety, the more hope he hath, fear being not altogether excluded. *Auſtin* alſo ſaith, no man is certain of his Predeſtination, without divine revelation: And, faith joyned with charity, and regeneration are not certain tokens of Predeſtination, becauſe many that had that faith and were regenerated, not only fail but eternally periſh. *The regenerate, ſome perſevering to the end go hence, others are here detained until they fall away:* De bono perſever. *To ſome, whom he hath regenerated in Chriſt, to whom he hath given faith, hope, and charity, God giveth not perſeverance,* eod. lib. *Some regenerate and juſtified perſon relapſeth*

eth into an evill life by his own will: De correp. & Grat. *Therefore no man can be ſecure, until this life, which is a temptation upon earth, be conſummate.* De bono perſever. But indeed, as *Melanchon* writes to *Joachimus Camerarius*, there are ſome paradoxes born in *Zeno*'s School, which are not rightly father'd upon *Auſtin*.

Of the Angel in the Revelation, c. 1. 11.

The Angel is but one in every Church (where yet long before were many Presbyters) ſo called becauſe the *Hebrews* (whoſe example the *Egyptians* alſo followed, as we learn by a place of *Diodorus Siculus* in *Photius*) ſtiled their chief Prieſts, to whom the Biſhops in the Church are correſpondent, by the name of Angels, Chriſt himſelf diſtinguiſhes the Church and the Angels: the candleſticks are the Churches, and the Stars are the Angels of the Church. *Jerom* called the Angels Preſidents of the Church. *Auſtin*: *Sub Angeli nomine laudatur præpoſitus Eccleſiæ.* And the ſame is the explication of *Bullinger*, *Beza*, *Reinolds*. One of theſe Angels was *Polycarpus*, the Preſident of the Presbytery at *Smyrna*, conſtituted there by

by *John* the Apoſtle. *Irenæus* 3. 3. *Polycarpus was not only inſtructed by the Apoſtles, and a companion of many of them that had ſeen our Lord; but alſo conſtituted Biſhop by the Apoſtles in Aſia in the Church of Smyrna: whom alſo we ſaw in our firſt age. For he continued long, and being very old, by a moſt glorious and moſt noble Martyrdom departed out of this life.* Tert. de præſcript. hær. *After this manner the Apoſtolicall Churches bring down their account: as the Church of* Smyrna *relates* Polycarpus *placed there by* John. Adverſ. Marcion. 4. *The order of Biſhops followed up to its originall, will ſtand upon* John *the Authour.* The Synod of *Chalcedon*, Act. 11. *From* S. Timothy *untill now*, 27. *Biſhops were all made and ordained at Epheſus.* I much eſteem the incomparable diligence of *Blondellus*; and I adviſe all to reade his Books: yet with judgement. For it is no wonder, it that learned man be ſometimes carried aſide by his affection to his own party, and finde evaſions, as when in *Irenæus* 3. 3. he interprets *the more potent principality* to be meant of the *Empire*, when the *Church* is to be understood, as appears by the reaſon added, becauſe there hath been alwaies conſerved the Apoſtolical Tradition.

Of

Of Infant-baptiſm.

To the places of Scripture, which are brought to prove the neceſſity of baptizing Infants, what may be anſwered, He that will may learn out of Cardinal *Perron*'s Anſwer to *Caſaubon*'s Epiſtle, cap. 8. For my pars, I acquieſce in the authority of the Church, to whom God hath given the Sacraments and ſome right over them. There was a time when the Euchariſt was given to Infants. This cuſtome is vaniſht, yet not as abſurd, but unneceſſary. To defer Baptiſm till ripe years was in old time left at liberty. Now the obſervation is otherwiſe, and yet even now there is no certain time of receiving Baptiſm defined by the Church. Here is nothing againſt the Scripture. Great hath alwaies been the liberty of the Church, in the time, place, and manner of ſuch things. There are ſome lately born that beleeve otherwiſe: yet themſelves neither baptize the perſons naked, nor dip them under water, which is ſignified by the word βαπτίζειν. *Auſtin* ſaid well againſt *Creſconius*: *Quamvis de Scriptura Canonica non proferatur exemplum*, &c. *Though example be not brought out of Canonicall Scripture, yet we hold the verity of thoſe Scriptures*

ptures when we practiſe this that hath pleaſed the Univerſall Church, commended to us by the Authority of the ſame Scriptures.

Of Tranſubſtantiation.

In the Sacrament of the Euchariſt, *Medrevius* ſaith, there is not to be underſtood any Phyſical Tranſubſtantiation, but Metaphyſical, or rather Theological: and we may adde Theurgical. As the word *ſubſtance* is not taken by all in the ſame manner: for the *Ariſtotelean* Philoſophers take it one way, the *Hermetick* another, and the *Platonick* another: So alſo the word *Tranſubſtantiation*; or, if you had rather follow the *Greek*, * *Tranſelementation* I beleeve many Proteſtants are not offended with the word (which may receive as commodious an interpretation, as the word θεόλογος) but with ſome explications of the Schoolmen: which they may if they pleaſe, lay by, and keep to that which all the Catholicks acknowledge, *This* * *mutation is made ſpiritually, profits ſpiritually.* The *Formula Poſſiacena* propoſed by way of concord, is extant, approved and ſigned, on the part of the Catholicks by the Biſhop of *Valence* and *Eſpencæus*, by *Beza* and *Galaſſius* on the Pro-

* μεταστοιχείωσις.

* μεταβολὴ, μεταποίησις, μεταρρύθμισις.

Proteſtants part. The Fathers and very many Proteſtants do affirm it for certain, that together with the ſigns the thing it ſelf is exhibited, but in a manner that is not perceptible by the external ſenſes. So *Bucer* and others. To ſpeak my heart, I think that many diſputers do underſtand well enough the ſenſe or the ancient Church, and of the preſent Greek and Latin: but they diſſemble it, that they may have matter to declame upon, among thoſe, that make more uſe of their outward ſenſes, then their inward.

Of Adoration at the Sacrament.

When the Catholicks ſay and profeſs, they exhibit ſigns of honour to Chriſt, whom very many Proteſtants do acknowledge preſent in the Sacrament, they are not * *worſhippers of the bread,* no more then the Jews were* *worſhippers of the Ark*, when they exhibited honour to God before the Ark. Chriſt may be invoked every where, and where more juſtly, then where in ſo ſingular a manner he exhibits his preſence? I will ſay more; the various flexures of the body, anciently uſed for the ſignification of honour, have not any certain and determinate

* ἀρτολάτραι.

* κιβωτολάτραι.

minate ſignification by the divine law; but are at free uſe, unleſſe where the manners of people appropriate them to this or that ſignification. Therefore, if the Apoſtles bowed the head, others the knees, upon the matter there is no difference. But theſe words *latria*, *adoration* and the like, becauſe they are ambiguous, doe notably ſerve them that ſeek contention.

Of Chriſtian Sacrifices.

The word *Sacrifice* is not to be reſtrained more narrowly then either the original of the word or the uſe of it will bear. The legal oblation of fine flour is called a ſacrifice. And in *Gen.*4.3. according to the Greek: Cain *brought of the fruits of the earth* θυσίαν *a ſacrifice to the Lord.* Therefore alſo of the fruits of the earth, the offering that is made is rightly called θυσία a ſacrifice. Therefore the faithfull ſacrifice, when they offer the fruit of the corn, and the fruit of the vine, to be conſecrated to the moſt holy uſe. Moreover, the Church commemorating the Sacrifice of Chriſt with the uſual rite and words, in this alſo ſacrificeth and offers that which is her own, given unto her by Chriſt, that

ſhe

ſetteth before the eyes of God, by that ſhe beſeecheth God, and it is the ſame ſacrifice that Chriſt offered; the ſame one true and ſingular ſacrifice to *Auguſtin*, a ſacrifice of * memo y, to *Euſebius*, a * ſpiritual ſacrifice to others. After that, the faithfull offer themſelves, according to the example of Chriſt, their goods, their labours, their life alſo, if not in effect, in affection, as *Abraham* ſacrificing offered his Son. In all this, what is there new, what deformed, what hurtful? But mindes once diſtracted, do diſtract all things into a depraved meaning, and then are glad to finde a hint for it in any of the Schools.

* μνήμης θυσία.

* νοερὰ θυσία.

Of Satisfaction.

To ſatisfie is not a word of Scripture but of the civil Law, and the Lawyers ſay, we ſatisfie him whoſe deſire we fulfill. Now, God deſires nor repentance only, but the teſtimonies of repentance, eſpecially ſuch as doe inure upon the minde the memory, and eſchewing of the offence. Neither is more injury done to Chriſt in this word, then when the Apoſtles are ſaid *to convert* and to ſave men: which words doe agree to Chriſt

Christ in an excellent and principall way; to the Apostles in their measure. Nor would Christ so satisfie for us, as to leave us nothing to do our selves. In this point, no lesse then in righteousnes which they call *imputative*, the meer devises of men are thrust upon us, in stead of divine dictates. And it is no marvel, many are pleased therewith. The Cause is evident.

Of Obedience to Governours.

Surely 'tis an excellent Rule that is prescribed for a King in *Deut.* and there have been few Kings in the people of God, after that Rule, if any one at all. So true is that saying, All good Princes may have their names easily inscribed within the compasse of one ring. The Kings of *Juda* the best had no small faults: those of *Israel* were all naught. Haply, that exact Rule was answered by the Great *Theodosius*, Saint *Lewis* and some few more. The fewer they have been, the greater is the praise. To which praise I shut up the entrance to none of the Kings. In the mean time, I inculcate into subjects obedience toward them all, according to the precept of Christ

Christ and his Apostles. Let them desire the best, give God thanks for the middle sort, bear with the worst, for the doctrine and example of Christ. Let them suffer even crafty Foxes, such as *Herod:* even cruell Lions, such as *Nero.* And when I speak of subjects, under that name I comprehend also inferiour Magistrates, who in respect of the Highest Power are but subjects, sent by the King, as *Peter* saith. I preach not *Evangelium armatum*, an armed Gospel, as *Ronsard* said of *Beza* truly. Not obedience only, but honour also and reverence is due unto them, even to the * froward. *What else?* saith *Sophocles*, They are Princes. But *Paul* with Apostolicall gravity: They are Gods Ministers. And if the doubtfull actions even of private men are, according to the rule of charity, to be interpreted on the better part, how much more of Kings; who are not bound to render an account of their actions to any, nor can they sometimes do it without perill of the commonwealth.

Of Religion turned into Rebellion.

If we enquire into the cauſes of thoſe wars which have ſo long waſted *Europe*, we ſhall finde the flame to have been kindled principally by them that ſhould have been the Preachers of peace. That the Civill Wars of *France* moſt of them were raiſed by them that ſtile themſelves Miniſters of the Goſpel, needs no ſtronger witneſſes, then the freſh memory of the Kings, Peers, and people, together with very many letters both of the Duke or *Bulion*, and *du Pleßis* complaining thereof; and alſo theſe very Commentaries which the Duke of *Rohan* hath written of the laſt Warres. Yet I except *Camero*, who was ever of another minde, and fared much the worſe for it. If there were any more like unto him, I would not deprive them of their due praiſe. Some kept themſelves quiet, becauſe they were not in fit place to make any commotion; The faults of the other ſide excuſe them not. Even *Bouchers* book is all patched up with the ſayings of *Junius Brutus*, *Buchanan*, *Hottoman*. We have

have ſeen a prodigious thing, Troups and Companies muſtered, Arms and Ammunition gathered under the name of the Reformed Churches. Whence is this power, from heaven, or from earth? For my own part, being one who do not only diſſuade ſubjects from taking Arms, but entreat Kings alſo to make a ſparing uſe of their prerogative; who think them to be leſſe miſerable that are condemned to the Galleys, then ſuch as are devoted to an everlaſting Warre; I rejoyce in the Peace made between the moſt valourous Nations, the Swede and the Polonian: nor can I give them both any better counſell, then to perpetuate the ſame. I wiſh the like to other people, but I dare ſcarce ſpeak out, it is ſo dangerous. In other things alſo, I truſt by Gods direction I ſhall ſatisfie the Queen and Governour of *Swede*, which now I look upon as my own Countrey.

Of ſome dangerous Opinions.

Some Opinions there be, that will not permit any ſtate longer to be ſafe, then force is wanting. Many think, that there is every where a certain contract or covenant between God, the King and the people, upon ſuch terms, that if the King depart from God, the people alſo may deſert the King. Now from God, as they imagine, depart, thoſe firſt, who acknowledge the Popes primacy in the Church: for in all reaſon they muſt loſe that power which they have delivered up unto the beaſt: thoſe next, who attempt any reconcilement with that Church that coheres to the Roman Church, that is, with the Synagogue of Satan, as they pleaſe to ſpeak: thoſe laſtly, who retain any of the rites and ceremonies, ſuch as are retained not in *England* only but in the Northern Kingdomes: they are all Papiſticall, and therefore idolatrous. Another of their phanſies is, that where it is written in the Apocalypſe, *Render double unto Babylon*, there is meant by Babylon, the Church con-

conjoyned within the Sea of Rome. And there the faithfull have every one a divine mandate, to deſtroy Altars and the Images of Saints, to take away all that worſhip, together with the worſhippers: for otherwiſe Babylon cannot fall, nor a double reward be given to her. And curſed are they that do this word of the Lord negligently. A third conceit is, that they read in *Daniel,* how all Kings and Princes muſt ſubmit their Crowns to the holy people of the moſt High, *i. e.* to the people Reformed. Which is ſo evidently written, that every one is blinde who ſees it not. Some go further, and ſay, that all things by right pertain to the elect: Other men are no better then robbers. Themſelves without all queſtion, are theſe Elect: becauſe for them particularly Chriſt dyed, and that they are certain of, becauſe they do beleeve it, or apprehend that benefit by faith. Theſe in truth are things ſomewhat ridiculous, but of a very ſad conſequence.

Of the interpretation of an Oath.

Concerning the force and obligation of an Oath, whereby Subjects are obliged to the Magistrates, I conceive the Interpretation belong, to Statesmen, and Lawyers, not to the Divines.

Of Augustine's *Opinion.*

I see learned men in great Volumes have disputed, whether *Augustine* liked of that predestination which is vented under his name by many, who for this especially call themselves reformed. Certainly, if that were his opinion, he did not approve it to the African his Collegues, nor to the Roman Bishops: as appears by the Epistles of those, and by the acts of these, wherein is no mention made at all of that predestination: *Celestine* B. of *Rome* having said, *Augustine* was esteemed among the best Doctors, after he had spoken some profitable things concerning grace, addes, the profounder and more difficult parts of the intercurrent questions, he neither durst contemn, nor held it neces-

sary

ſary to affirm. And *Proſper* writing to the ſame *Celeſtin* in his own name, and of his Collegues in *Gallia*, that upon review of former opinions, almoſt all are found to concurre in the ſame ſentence, holding the predeſtination of God to be according to his preſcience; thereby informs us, either that *Auſtin's* Opinion was not that which ſome pretend, or that his opinion was new. In this and other points I am contented with the faith of the three firſt ages, whoſe doctrine what it was in this matter, I have well aſſured my ſelf by diligent reading. If I had not, I might ſtand to *Calvin* and *Beza* for my witneſſes.

Of liberty to ſinne.

Seeing God hath in his Law appointed heavy puniſhments for homicides and adulteries, and in the world to come will exact greater, according to the greatneſſe of the crimes: hence I infer, thoſe crimes do not neceſſarily follow from original ſinne. For if they were neceſſary conſequences of that ſin, they would not then deſerve any new puniſhment; but originall ſinne were

only to be puniſhed. For if one through his own fault become mad, and if through the violence of the ſame madneſſe he hurt another, he hath not therein committed any crime, nor deſerves he to be puniſhed, I ſpeak it to this purpoſe, that we may not as many do, caſt all our faults upon *Adam* alone; but acknowledge many ſins to be committed freely.

Of the uſe of naturalls.

No man hath deſerved to be called by the Goſpel, nor were they better that lived in the time of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, then thoſe of former times: but ſome, ſuch as ſacrificers of men, and devourers of men, and others might have ſo contemned thoſe naturall notions implanted in them by God, that they were therefore juſtly excluded from the common benefit. And oftimes they do more deſerve to be excluded, who might ſeem to us to have leſs deſerved, becauſe God alone knows what gifts they have deſpiſed, he alone rightly weighs their miſdeſervings. He hath a meaſure of his judgement unknown to us.

As

As of old, among people very corrupt, there lived *Melchiſedeck*, *Job*, *Naaman*, ſo even now alſo there may be ſome not unlike unto *Cornelius*, ſerving God, either by the reliques of ancient tradition not wholly extinct, or by ſome other ſeed from above. Theſe do pertain (as the Writer *de vocatione gentium* ſaith) unto that part of grace which hath alwaies been afforded to all Nations. 'There have 'been (ſaith he) and are ſome gifts 'ſo general, that men thereby might 'be helped to ſeek after the true God. Elſewhere he addes, 'God knows how 'to cumulate his general gifts with ſpe-'cial graces.

Of the honour of Saints, and uſe of Images.

I deny not, but in the honour of Saints, and in the uſe of Images, the mean is exceeded by many. Wherefore I would adviſe them to conſider whether it be not their ſafeſt courſe to direct their prayers unto God, and beſeech him that the praiers alſo of the Saints for us may be accepted: Unto which *Melanchon* too, I ſee, hath inclined.

ned. Further, I would it were conſidered, whether in ſtead of Images, it were not better to place Tables containing ſome pious Hiſtory, ſuch as they were, which are mentioned by *Prudentius* in the paſſion of *Caſſianus*. But truly if in this diſquition, ambiguous words, (which by their various acception diſtract the mindes of men) were ſet aſide, (namely, invocation, adoration, worſhip, religion, honour) and if in things themſelves the indifferent were diſtinguiſht from the unlawfull, there would be fewer ſeeds of contention.

Whether the Saints departed have any knowledge of us.

That pious men exempted from this life are touched with a care of the living, and do pray to God for them, was an opinion deeply fixed in the mindes of the Jews; in thoſe times when they were very farre from Idolatry, that is, after *Eſdras* unto this preſent. *Abraham* in *Joſephus* being ready to ſlay his ſon hath theſe words: 'God receiving thy 'ſoul by praier and ſacrifice offered up,

and

'and placing thee near unto himſelf,
'thou ſhalt be a ſollicitor for me, and
'to comfort my old age, for which end
'I brought thee up, thou ſhalt procure for
'me the aſſiſtance of God. Moreover,
Philo de diris ſaith, the Iſraelites have
three advocates; Gods goodneſſe, their
Anceſtors praiers, and a life every day
growing better. And concerning their
Anceſtors thus he ſpeaketh: 'They be-
'ing freed from the body, do exhibite
'unto the ſupream Lord a naked and
'ſincere worſhip, and do make pray-
'ers for their ſons and daughters not
'in vain, God the father rewarding
'them with a gracious audience. This
opinion hath been much confirmed by
the divine Apocalypſe, ſhewing to *John*
and by him to us, that the Martyrs
before the time of the vniverſall reſur-
rection, do reign with Chriſt: for
they cannot reign without ſome know-
ledge of affairs. And it ſeems by the
precedent words, this viſion is refer-
red to the times after *Conſtantine*, wher-
in the Martyrs were more publikely ho-
noured then before, not only by the
Chriſtians but by God himſelf, by the
cures daily happening at the places de-
ſtin'd to their honours. But (ſay
ſome)

ſome) how doth that knowledge come unto the Martyrs at ſo great a diſtance? This is not hard to be underſtood, if we remember that the Prophets alſo living in this groſſe body had the like priviledge. *Eliſha* ſaw what *Gehezi* did being abſent; *Ezechiel* in *Chaldæa* ſaw what was done in the Temple at Jeruſalem. Beſides, the Angels ſtand by at the holy Aſſemblies, and commend our praiers to God: as both Jews and Chriſtians have ever firmly beleeved. So that the Reader not poſſeſt with prejudice may eaſily judge it more credible, that the Martyrs have ſome knowledge of our affairs, then that they have none.

Of Will-worſhip, and the Commandments of men.

Paul in the 2. of *Coloſ.* 23. condemns not all will-worſhip: for ſo he had alſo condemned *Abel*'s ſacrifice, becauſe it came not from divine command, but from humane inſtitution, as the Ancients think: but this is it the Apoſtle blames, that thoſe voluntary worſhips were preferred before the worſhip of Chriſt

commanded by God; and, for a thing left to liberty, that which was moſt neceſſary was neglected. The Commandments of men, wherwith God is worſhipt in vain, both in *Iſaiah* and *Matthew*, are the Doctrines of men contrary to the divine law: ſuch as thoſe of the falſe Prophets in *Iſaiahs* time, teaching that God might be pacified with ſacrifices or other rites, without amendment of life: to which errour the Jews are much enclin'd even to this day. Such alſo is that doctrine of the Phariſees, that he is not bound to feed his parents, who had ſaid, whatever may come from me to my parents, be it now dedicated and vowed to the Temple. The teachers of ſuch things although they honour God with their lips, have their heart far from him.

of

Of the Scripture.

The place in 2 *Tim.* 3.16. hath another ſenſe then ſome do think. For *Paul* ſaith not, All Scripture is inſpired from God: for how many Scriptures are there of humane wit? Nor is it his meaning, that all is inſpired from God, That were a vain ſpeech. But thus: All Scripture, which is inſpired from God (*i. e.* the propheticall word, as *Peter* ſpeaks, 2.19.) did not only ſerve in its time, to ſhew the præſcience of God, and to give authority to the Prophets, but is alwaies profitable, becauſe it doth alſo contain documents of perpetuall uſe, reprehenſions of vice, excitements to righteouſneſſe. The Syriac Interpreter rightly gives this ſenſe: In the Scripture which is written by the ſpirit, there is utility for doctrine, *&c.*

Of

Of Tradition Apoſtolicall.

That a Tradition is Apoſtolicall may be proved thus:

Firſt, It is a juſt preſumption, thoſe things were delivered from the Apoſtles, which are every where found in the Churches, and whereof any other originall doth not appear.

Secondly, If there be ſome pious witneſſes, wiſe, and of great authority in the Church, who affirm a thing as delivered from the Apoſtles, we have now ſo great a proof as is in this matter ſufficient, nor leſſe then that by which we diſcern the Apoſtolicall writings from thoſe that are not Apoſtolicall. What they found in the Church, they held; what they learned, they taught; what they received from their fathers, they delivered to their children, ſaith *Auguſtine*. A Mathematicall certitude is not to be required in all things, ſaith *Ariſtotle*. If one be pertinacious, he will as eaſily finde eſcapes againſt the Booke, as againſt the Tradition. But it became the divine providence to take care, that neither the books in matters of moment, nor the tradition ſhould be adulte-

adulterated: and that it hath performed. Why then did not the Apoſtles write what they had delivered? Becauſe they wrote as occaſion was offered, and as the time required, not a Syſtem of doctrine and government. What things pertained to the regiment and the peace of the Churches were indeed written in great letters, in the conſpicuous uſe of thoſe Churches, which were founded by the Apoſtles. There was of old a queſtion, whether under the name of women, whom *Paul* would have to be veiled, virgins alſo were comprehended. The Scripture was ambiguous, becauſe the word *woman* is of divers ſignification. *Tertullian* doth well ſolve the doubt. Obſerve, ſaith he, the cuſtome of the Church, unto which *Paul* wrote. At *Corinth*, Virgins ever ſince that time are veiled.

Of a generall Councill.

There is no better teſtimony or declaration of tradition, nor more convenient for men of all ſorts, either given by God, or found out by men, nor can any better be found out (ſo farre as I can judge) then that which is by a Council univerſall. I beleeve it hath not happened hitherto, nor will ever come to paſſe, that in a Council truly univerſall, *i. e.* compoſed of ſelect Biſhops and Doctors, from every place, any thing can be pronounc'd, and by all the Church received, whereby the peoples ſalvation may be endangered. He that can let him ſhew me another way more ſafe and more certain. For to ſay, We have the Word of God, and the true ſenſe, and the ſpirit of God is common to all.

Of

Of Translations of Scripture.

The holy Scriptures were written for all. Whatsoever decrees have been any where made against the peoples reading of the Scripture, they are against the Scripture, and against the Canons: and therefore are justly neglected in *France* and other places. Concerning the Versions of *Beza* and *Piscator*, whose learning I do greatly esteem; and of some other, whose learning I do not so much value; that they are often wrested to their own private senses, many have advertised us: namely, the Cardinall *Richilieu*, Sect. 2. cap. 3. and concerning the Geneva Translation, which yet in places not controverted is not to be despised, King *James*. But the safest version of all, to them who are unlearned in the Hebrew and Greek, is the Vulgar Latine: which hath no false doctrine in it, as the consent of so many ages and nations hath judged.

Of the 7. Chapter of the Romans.

I entreat the Reader for the understanding of this Chapter, to reade, I will

will not say *Arminius* but Cardinal *Tolet* or (to preferre a Protestant) *Bucer*. I will follow that interpretation, which is of the Aucients for the most part, and which more conduces unto piety. That phrase *sold under sin*, is taken out of 1 Kin. 21. 25. where in the Greek the like is spoken of wicked *Ahab*. Will they that preach the efficacy of Grace, give it so little power, as to suffer him that receives it to be like to *Ahab* and remain (as some speak) prone to all evill, unprofitable to all good? Is this their description of a regenerate man? Doth the Apostle in any other place speak of himself after this manner? We have been such (he saith) but now we are not. No marvell, if they that are such, and will remain so, doe wrest the sayings of other men and take them in the worst sense.

To the Reader.

THus far have I offered the Authours judgement unto yours, to be followed so farre as you see cause, and no farther; nor do I presume to interpose my own. Only I fear as ancient Discipline and Rites, so some ancient Doctrines too have been traduced and decayed under the odious name of Popery. And, me thinketh, it may justly abate the eagernesse of some of our people, and of our young Preachers, who invcigh against persons and opinions before they have well weighed them; to see so brave a mun as GROTIUS deliver himself after that sort. If this little pains have but this effect, I suppose it is not ill bestowed.

Let the Peace of Christ rule in our hearts, to which also we are called in one Body, *Col* 3. 15.

M. Casaubon in his Preface to his *Antoninus* in English.

THe best able that I know now living, to perform this or any thing else, that belongs to a generall and compleat Scholar, M. *Hugo Grotius*, &c.

D. *Hammond*, Of Christs reprehending *Peter*.

This learned man *Grotius*, an excellent *Casuist*, exactly distinguishing the several obligations of nature, of *Moses*, and of Christ, &c.

Grotius according to his manner, which is to say all that can be wisht in any subject, &c.

Gerardus Jo. Vossius, ad *H. Grotium*.

O quam te memorem, optimi parentis
Proles maxima, ter beate *Groti*! &c.

Jo. Scaliger, ad *H. Grotium*.

At quicunque tuos, *Groti* divine, libellos
Sola moraturos lumina docta leget, &c

Grotius, *thy books declare thy piety,*
Fit objects only for the learned eye.

Ian. Dousa ad *H. Grotium*.

Magne puer, magni dignissima cura parentis,
Nomine sis dubito major, an ingenio, &c.

Dan.

Dan. Heinſius, ad eundem.

Natura nutrix obſtetrixque, quæ prius
Noverca cunctis, *Grotio* mater fuit.
Senex ephebus ille, quem *Batavia*
Miratur omnis, optat *Hetruſcus* ſibi
Omniſque *Gallus*: Ille dum puer fuit,
Vir eſſe cœpit. Namque reliqui viri
Tandem fuere: *Grotius* vir natus eſt.

Heinſius *on* Grotius.

Nature, the ſtepdame to us all,
Grotius *may his mother call.*
That old-young man, Holland *admires,*
Italy *and all* France *deſires.*
We grow up ſlowly: Would you ſee
One born full man? Grotius *is He.*

FINIS.

THE MOURNER COMFORTED.

AN Epiſtle Conſolatory;

WRITTEN BY

HUGO GROTIUS

TO

Monſieur *DU MAURIER* the French Embaſſadour at the HAGUE.

Tranſlated on a ſad occaſion, by C.B.

Melius ſe fert ſparſus Dolor.

LONDON,

Printed by *A.M.* for ~~Edward~~ Lee at the Turks Head in Fleetſtreet. 1652.

TO THE READER.

Reader,

THis had not seen the light, but that it may be usefull to some of the Relatives of that excellent Lady, that could not go to her grave unobserved, nor without great attendance. Her departure may be compared to the disappearing of some star of the first magnitude. Or rather, a new star is thereby added to the heavens. And there let her shine for ever. The use of this Epistolical Discourse may also extend farther then my

first design. They that faint under any such losse may take it for a cordial: and they that fear any, may receive it for a preparative. This (upon some experience in himself) is the hope of the Translator in the publication of it; and it is Dedicated to those Honourable persons, whom he will not presume to name, untill by some more ample testimony he may publickly shew himself their faithfull and humble servant,

C. B.

HUGO

HUGO GROTIUS
His Conſolatory Epiſtle to the French Embaſſador *DU MAURIER*, upon the Death of his Lady.

Moſt Illuſtrious Lord,

I Am thus far indebted to my priſon, that the evils of other men come later to my knowledge; even your wound, which otherwiſe I ſhould have known among the firſt, by reaſon of that friendſhip wherewith you have honoured me, I now underſtand laſt of all, like unto thoſe things that come to paſs in the remoteſt parts of Europe. This will excuſe the ſlowneſſe of my duty, which yet beſide neceſſity hath reaſon enough to defend it. For thoſe conſolations are wont to be more acceptable, which are then applied, when the

firſt ſtorm of ſorrow is paſt, and that pleaſure (if I may ſo ſpeak) of grieving is abated; when the minde now wearied with its diſeaſe begins to be willing to admit of remedies, and to ſuffer the touch of ſome helping hand. I know how you were affected with my calamity, and thence you may underſtand, I am not unſenſible of your ſorrow. Let us, if it pleaſe you, mingle together the cauſes of our grief, that we may together ſeek for comforts, and when we have found them make uſe of them together. Neither am I ignorant, how little I, that am ſo deſtitute of all aids both to my minde and body, am able to bring unto this purpoſe, which is not already better and more effectually alledged and expreſſed by the profeſſors of wiſdom or eloquence or piety, who have heretofore ſet up their ſtandard againſt immoderate mourning. But I am taught by my own experience, That can never be too much repeated which is never enough remembred. We muſt ſcour and call back into uſe the Arms, which by length of time are grown ruſty. Beſides, the advices which are given in general words, as ſpoken unto all, are wont to paſs by with leſs obſervation: but when they

they are applied to our particular caſe, having no other mark to hit, they pierce and have a more ſtrong effect. At our firſt entrance upon this work, we muſt ſeriouſly conſider, whether the grief of the heart be in the number of thoſe things, over which our labour and induſtry hath any power. For if neceſſarily and naturally we do all grieve ſo much as the greatneſs of the occaſion, and the immutable frame of every ones minde requireth, it is eaſily underſtood all pains to the contrary is taken in vain. Nor doubt I but rude mindes ſurprized with ſome ſuch perſwaſion do ſometimes give up themſelves to the poſſeſſion of grief, as of a diſeaſe incurable. They feel ſad thoughts come into the minde unſent for, whence follows that preſſure of the heart contracting it ſelf, which we call *mæror*, and ſo without more ado they throw down their arms in deſpair of victory. But we, who beſides our inward experience (which alone rightly obſerved might ſuffice) have the helps of excellent arts, and the uſe of all learned and wiſe mens labours before us, cannot be ignorant of the truth in this point, if we pleaſe but to rouſe our ſelves up, and draw forth what we have hid

within us. The truth is this, Thoſe firſt appearances, and the ſuddain motions ariſing thence, which the wiſe compare to the twinklings of the eyes, are without our power; but to admit of thoſe appearances and let them without judgement and diſcretion into the cloſet of the heart; or elſe to paſs a ſtrict examination upon them, and weigh them in the ſcale of reaſon: alſo, to looſe the reigns to the affections, or to reſtrain them; this for the moſt part is within our power. That ſorrow may be overcome, nature it ſelf teacheth us; for, if by no other means, it is at laſt conſumed by time. Art imitates Nature. The Phyſician obſerving any diſeaſe mitigated by naturall ſweat, endeavours to eaſe his patient ſick of the like diſeaſe by medicines that procure ſweating. The new Philoſophers, the Chymiſts, worthy of more praiſe and favour, if they did not corrupt the glory of their excellent inventions by vainglorious promiſes, teach that the nature of metalls is ambulatory, and by long continuance of time one is changed into another: and herein conſiſts their induſtry, to promote the endeavors of nature, and haſten that effect which will at length be produced.

Such

Such is the office of right reaſon in overcoming ſorrow. Sorrow hath this good in it, above other evils, it bears not age. Other diſeaſes of the minde are nouriſhed, this is waſted by time. You may ſuppoſe it is a weak enemy, that cannot maintain it ſelf, and without any force oppoſed, fals of it ſelf. What nature promiſeth at a longer day, reaſon repreſents and pays down in hand. Let us therefore, as it is the property of Art, follow the ſteps of nature. When by little and little the grief of minde departeth, there is for the moſt part no change in the thing it ſelf, yea the incommodity that was, often becomes greater, as when he that hath loſt a friend or wife declines to old age, wherein he hath moſt need of helps. Whence then ariſes that calm in a minde ſo much troubled before? Truly hence, the appearance of the thing that cauſeth ſorrow is more ſeldom in the eye of the minde; it ſlides by, not ſticks, it touches, doth not preſs or pierce the minde, and at laſt it doth not ſo much as touch it. Conſider now whether every one be not able ſpeedily to cure himſelf, and haſten his own enjoyment of ſo great a good. Moſt of us not only ſuffer, but create our ſorrow,

whilſt we yield our ſelves to ſudden cogitations; in mourning eſpecially, where the vexation flatters us under a ſhew of piety. Thoſe ſad thoughts we cheriſh carefully, and to our own hurt patronize, doing like them that ſeek for looking-glaſſes which repreſent bodies greater then they are. Surely, the will of man, that hath ſuch force to hurt himſelf, might do ſomewhat, if it pleaſed, for his own eaſe. That ſorrow is an enemy to us, we cannot deny. The leanneſſe of an exhauſted body, paleneſs of countenance, dejection of minde (cauſes of grief for the moſt part more juſt then that for which we grieve) ſhew it to be an enemy. In the dealing with an enemy, what are we wont to do? If he be ſtrong and at the firſt onſet violent, whilſt your forces are not yet come together; the firſt caution is, to decline the battell: afterward, when you are aſſured and confident in your ſtrength, you ſhall march into the field and diſplay your colours. Even ſo the appearance of your loſs being freſh, and your minde tender, it is beſt to bend your thoughts another way. None may do it more eaſily, excellent Sir, then you, who need not ſeek for employment, you have in your charge affairs

affairs of ſo great weight and labour, that they may very take up all your thoughts. The King whom you ſerve, the greateſt and moſt Chriſtian, the difficult times, the many and various buſineſſes of your Office, what elſe do they all ſay unto you, but; *Attend your work, you are not at leaſure to be a Mourner.* Moſt true is that old ſaying, *The minde is prevalent, where you put it forth and uſe it.* Certainly it is there to be uſed, where our labour may be to good purpoſe; that is, not in mourning, but in the ſervice of your King and Country. It is no more then ordinary common ſenſe which the Greek Poet hath adorned with elegant expreſſions to this effect;

If ills were cured by our weeping eyes,
And tears could waſh away our miſeries;
Thy tears were worth gold: which I now
muſt blame,
For weep, or weep not, evils are the ſame.

I know that, ſaid *Solon*, and I weep the more, becauſe I can do no good by weeping. This very fooliſh ſaying of ſo wiſe a man may be an example to us, how much ſorrow darkneth the judgement, that made *Solon* himſelf to ſpeak unwiſely. For in thoſe things wherein care and induſtry is of any force (among which

things

things ſorrow is one, as we have ſaid) we muſt obſerve, not whence the paſſion comes, but whither it goes. 'Tis the office of reaſon to look forward, not backward. Wherefore he that doth any thing ought often to put the queſtion to himſelf, Why do I do this? What do I hope? What do I deſire? This if one ask himſelf who cheriſheth his grief and endeavoureth not to correct it, he ſhall ſee how nothing can be anſwered.

But you may object, It is hard and inhumane to expell out of your heart the thought of her you lov'd ſo dearly and ſo deſervedly, not leſs for her vertues, then becauſe ſhe was your wife. Remember, 'tis requir'd but for a time, and, as in a labyrinth, this way leads you to a place contrary unto it. So doth a ſhort abſtinence conduce to the better concoction and digeſtion of the food you ſhall eat. I would have her live in your thoughts perpetually, but ſo that the memory of her may delight, not torment you. 'Tis an injury to her, when ſhe is called into your minde to create her husband ſorrow. Let her come then, when ſhe may come, in the quality ſhe was wont to come, fair, kinde and cheerfull. This image of her, which now occurrs to your minde,

minde, ſorrowfull, and leaving a troubleſome remembrance of her, is falſe and reſembles her not. I do now foreſee the time, when that ſweetneſs of manners, that love and reverence of you, that unwearied care in the good education of her children, that ſincere piety toward God, and whatſoever in many of that ſex is wanting, in ſome few is moſt praiſe-worthy, will offer it ſelf to your minde, not only without danger, but with much ſenſe of joy: when it will delight you to remember her, and to ſet before your childrens eyes all her actions as the beſt Samplar for their life. Only for a little while put by the thought of her, which you ſhall afterward reſume with advantage. To this end, as I was ſaying, will avail theſe many weighty affairs, which being enough to oppreſſe another, ſit lightly upon you. Now is the time, if ever, to be immerſed in publick cares, and ſuffer no room at all in the minde to be unpoſſeſt. Nor are the conferences of friends unprofitable, provided they be men of courage and wiſdom, not ſuch as commend themſelves by the imitation of your ſadneſſe. Conferre with the dead alſo, and turn over Books with greater diligence now then ever, and let that

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which was but your recreation before, now become a part of your labour. Books will not only give you a ſafe retreat from the enemies fury, but arms alſo againſt the enemy. For whether you contemplate with your moſt capacious ſoul the nature of things, you will ſee how nothing is without the empire of death, no not the elements themſelves: It is the moſt univerſal law, which condemns every thing that is born, to dye; and it were great ignorance to think one perſon can be exempted from the common ruine: Or, whether you turn to the Morals, among that fair company of vertues you ſhall behold *Fortitude*, of a firm body, a head lifted up, a chearfull countenance, but among the vices *Sorrow*, macilent, pale, of a cloudy brow, and down-caſt looks: Or, whether you ſearch the *Animals*, you ſhall finde examples of men, who have born the deaths of Parents, Children, Wives, with a minde leſſe mov'd then ours is at the reading of the ſtory. Now, having by theſe Arts eſcaped the dangers of the firſt time, and withall gotten ſtrength, let the ſoul at length come forth into the field, as it were, and prepare to fight.

But here alſo I think it fit to imitate wiſe

wiſe Commanders, who, as much as they can, ſever the enemies forces, that fighting with the ſeverall parties, they may more eaſily conquer all. Mourning is a confuſed thing, it objects unto the minde many things at once and in a heap, which being joyned terrifie, but vaniſh being divided. All the aſſaults it makes againſt you are either in reſpect of Her whom you lament, or of your ſelf the Mourner, or of your children, with whom and for whom you mourn. Weigh theſe particulars ſeverally, you will finde partly that there is no cauſe of grief, partly that the incommodity is much overbalanced by greater good. I will begin with Her. It is in all mens mouths, which we read every where in Chriſtian Writers, but in *Antiphanes* too (which you may more admire) a heathen Poet ſpeaking in words of this ſenſe:

Lament your friends with ſorrow moderate:
They are not loſt, but gone before, where Fate
Diſpoſeth all: And we, in order, muſt
One after one be turn'd to the ſame duſt;
And meet at the ſame Inn by ſeveral waies,
And in another world ſhall ſee new daies.

We muſt dwell the longer upon this place, becauſe it alone without the reſt, if it be rightly conſidered, is ſufficient for

conſolation. I would not have any credit given me without a moſt competent witneſſe, the Doctor of the Gentiles, the Founder of Churches, called to be an Apoſtle by a voice from heaven; who being indued alſo with humane learning, all other arguments omitted, checks the immodeſty of ſorrow with this alone: I would not have you ignorant, Brethren, concerning them that are aſleep, that ye ſorrow not even as others which have no hope. For if we beleeve that Jeſus died and roſe again, even ſo them that are aſleep will God bring with him. It is the manner of Epiſtles to deliver in ſhort that which familiar diſcourſe doth expreſſe more liberally. But if *Paul*, as it is beleeved, after he wrote this, viſited his Diſciples of *Macedon* again, he might haply proſecute this moſt wholeſome point more at large after this ſort: Freinds, whom nature hath made of the ſame kinde with us, and the Word of God hath new made and raiſed to the ſame Grace; ye know it is our duty throughly to purge out whatſoever old corruption remaineth in you; your countenance, your habit and geſture ſpeak you to be much and long grieved in minde, if any of your deareſt Relatives be taken

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out of your ſight. Nor is it any marvel, for thus did your fathers, and thus do the people with whom you live intermixed: Great is the power of a vice commended by the authority of parents, and the diſeaſes which have ſeized, not upon ſingle perſons, but whole Nations, are very contagious: but you muſt remember to what Inſtitution you have given your name: in your baptiſm, when the waſhing of your body figured the cleanneſſe of minde, I received your vow to forſake the world. Peace with God is not bought at any cheaper rate. We have doctrines, we have alſo rites which ſeparate us from the world, and make us a people different from all the reſt of mankinde: Even our words are not the ſame, whom they call dead, we ſay are fallen aſleep: So are we taught to ſpeak by him that is not only the Maſter of life but ſpeech. What is the meaning of that new word? That ſleep is the image of death, even the Poets of the Grecians and their Philoſophers have delivered; but with them the ſimilitude holds not, which with us is moſt exact. By motion and action we underſtand life: there is a defect of theſe, when the body is tied up with the bonds of ſleep, and lies as it were buried: when the

the morning Sun hath driven away the night, that vigour that was not loſt but intermitted returns again: mean while, the ſoul which hath a power not depending on the body, performing the offices of both times, perpetuates her action; So when the term of mortall life is come, the body lies torpid and unactive, whether it retain as yet the ſhape it had immediatly before, or elſe hath rendred its parts to the original duſt. But wait untill the great day ſhine forth, there it will appear, the body reſted for a time which ſeemed loſt. In the mean, that part which is inviſible keeps poſſeſſion of life in behalf of the whole man. Compare with this our faith, what others running into ſo many by-waies do conceive: when in very many and the greateſt things their opinions differ, in this almoſt alone they agree, that they are without hope of life ever to return unto the body, and therefore deprive man of his immortality. For man is a body animate, not a ſoul without a body, nor a body without a ſoul. The ſoul it ſelf departed from the body, many of them either think to be annihilated, or at leaſt not to retain the ſtate of its own ſubſtance. So the whole man, to them, is deſtroyed without hope of reſtitution,

tution, as appears by thoſe very conſolations which they apply to mourners. For they ſay, Dead men indeed have no good, but neither have they any ill. Now, although the opinion of theſe men is hard, yet theirs is much harder who make the ſoul outlive the body. For that lower place which they will have to be the cõmon ſeat of ſouls gone out of the body, they deſcribe as a wilde place, horrid and dark, and of ſuch a condition, that one would die another death to get out of it. Moreover, which is worſt of all, They to whom other puniſhments are remitted are (according to this opinion) everlaſtingly under this torment, a vain and never ſatisfied deſire of returning back again to their former life. If ſome few among thoſe men have any better conjectures, they doubt and fluctuate more like to thoſe that wiſh then affirm. But ye have learned among the elements of our doctrine, that life remains in the ſoul, and ſhall be reſtored to the body. That which is the conſummation of our deſires, concludes the *formula* in our holy initiation. For being asked whether ye beleeved the Reſurrection of the body, and the life everlaſting, ye anſwered every one before God and his Chuach, that ye did beleeve.

beleeve. Upon this *formula* the confeſſion that you made I now treat with you: but it is not ſufficient to give a light aſſent, that perſwaſion muſt be firmly rooted in your mindes, ſo ſhall it bring forth mature and fair and laſting fruits. Much will avail to this purpoſe, the attent meditation of thoſe Arguments by which you were induced to ſubſcribe to this Faith. We caught you not by the affected ornaments of humane eloquence, nor did we by a long chain of conſequences entangle the mindes of the more ignorant; but we brought the buſineſſe to that which is common to men and women, learned and unlearned, young and old, and which is accounted the greateſt aſſurance of all, even to the judgement of ſenſe. The moſt famous enquirer into nature among the Grecians, gives this reaſon why we have not the knowledge of many things; becauſe we can neither ſee them with our eyes, nor touch them with our hands: by which way things are wont to come unto the underſtanding. God hath excluded us from this excuſe and pretence for our ignorance. He hath preſented to our hands and eyes a *ſpecimen* and pledge of what we hope for. That Jeſus Chriſt the Authour of

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our faith was nailed to the croſſe, and died on the Croſſe, all *Jeruſalem* ſaw, the Senate ſaw, the Roman band ſaw it with their eyes, and alſo that multitude of ſtrangers wherewith that great City was then filled: That he was buried and lay in the Sepulcher two whole nights, and the day interpoſed, is manifeſt, both by the declaration of the Seal, and by the teſtimony of the watch. So far we and our adverſaries are agreed. This ſame Jeſus after that time women ſaw living again, his followers alſo ſaw him, both ſeverally and all the eleven together, at divers times: There were ſome alſo that handled his hands and ſide. That nothing might be wanting to make faith compleat, He ſhewed himſelf to be ſeen and heard by five hundred witneſſes at once: who in good part are living and do teſtifie the ſame. To come unto my ſelf, I have ſeen Him ſhining with divine Majeſty, and by his immediate authority was converted, and vowed to be his ſervant whom before I had perſecuted. And can any one yet be doubtfull? Certainly, never did any equall Judge reject ſo many witneſſes, men of integrity, and ſuch as had no temptation to make a lye. This teſtimony is ſo farre from being gainfull to

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us, that we muſt pay for it with the loſſe of all things, for the ſaving whereof lyes are wont to be invented. Therefore doe we incurre the hatred even of our neareſt Relatives; we are diſpoſſeſt of our Eſtates, we are baniſht from our Countrey, we are in hazard of our life every day. No man at ſo dear a price doth buy the pleaſure of deceiving another. Now if our teſtimony be received by a moſt evident example it is manifeſt that God can reſtore life to a dead body, And by the ſame Argument it is evinced, that this ſhall be done for all the Diſciples of Chriſts inſtitution, if that be certain, which was certainly heard by many thouſands, that Chriſt hath promiſed it. For the Reſurrection of our bodies is aſſured by Chriſts teſtimony, the veracity of Chriſt is witneſſed by his Reſurrection. Neither could it ſtand with the equity of God to give that honour to one that ſpake not the truth, eſpecially when himſelf before the event had ſet it for a ſign: Wherefore beleeve us, that Chriſt is riſen; and beleeve Chriſt, that all ſhall riſe to immortall bleſſedneſſe and bleſſed immortality who die his Diſciples. He ſhall preſent us to the Father, who hath once obtained ſuch grace with the Father,

ther, that no requeſt of his can ever be in vain: He ſhall make us partakers of his glory, and bring us into thoſe places, where dwels an undiſturbed peace; where neither diſeaſes ſhall approach the body, nor vices have acceſſe unto the minde; where ſhall be life without fear of death, and joys without mixture of ſorrow. Some taſte of this ſupper have the ſouls already, that are departed hence in the faith of Chriſt, in moſt ſweet tranquillity waiting for the conſummation of their felicity, together with the bodies. He that heartily beleeves theſe things, muſt needs be ſo far from lamenting, that he will congratulate their happy condition, whom he hath ſent away before him to the enjoyment of our common hopes. For in a true judgement they are not dead, but freed now at laſt from their mortality. This place of *Paul* hath carried me farther then I intended, whileſt I endeavour to examine every one of his words, and the force of them. For I am aſſured, there can be no better remedy applied to ſorrow, then that which the great Phyſician of ſouls among the infinite treaſures of ſaving wiſedome hath brought down from Heaven. And yet, how many things have I omitted, which might

might be drawn from the same fountain? But those considerations that we have deduced thence, if they be taken to heart, and received throughly, will be sufficient. Beleeve it, excellent Sir, as if you saw it, the soul of your wife for many reasons most beloved, begins already to enjoy the sweet fruits of her virtues, and tasteth the rewards promised to sincere piety. The end and consummation of so many ages, when she shall be wholly restored to her self; that immense accumulation of all good things, to which all that can be imagined is far inferiour, is not expected afar off, as by us; but lookt upon by her at the neareſt distance. What she hath in possession is so great, that she wanteth nothing; and yet that is more which she seeth she shall possesse. Nor have you any reason to say, She might have stayed longer before she went thither. Time is some advantage, and it is a great felicity to be quickly happy. How many evils, partly certain, partly uncertain, doth he escape who is called hence betimes? How many are the examples of men that have paid dear for the lengthening of their life? I might here relate the torments of diseases, and the affronts of fortune never more to be feared then when she flatter-

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eth, and the incommodities of old age which every man that lives long ſhall be ſure of. This one thing ſeemeth to me a ſufficient benefit of an early death, to be put out of danger of ſinning any more. It remains that you ſay, I am not ſorry for her ſake, but my own: And to this I was now coming, for that is wont to be ſaid; but how unjuſtly, any one may eaſily underſtand whoſe ejulations have not made him deaf to the voice of reaſon. He that flyes to this refuge manifeſtly ſhews himſelf an offender againſt the laws of friendſhip. For they that fetcht the originall of friendſhip from indigence, were entertained with the hiſſes of almoſt all Philoſophers; nor among the common people, whoſe manner is to meaſure moſt things by profit, could they make good their cauſe. In friendſhip, the Affection goes abroad, and without ſelf-reſpect, ſeeks the good of another. Applauſes fill the Theater, as oft as any *Pilades* derives upon himſelf the dangers of *Oreſtes*: ſo prone is the conſent of men to eſteem it the office of a friend, in an equall matter to prefer his friends ſafety before his own. How much more ought the ſenſe of our own incommodity and loſſe be ſwallowed up by the felicity of one we profeſſe

to love; when we conſider here is much more of good then there of evill. *Zopyrus* is commended in the ſtory, becauſe he cut and diſmembred his own body, to the end his King might obtain a great, yet but one City. In this caſe there was ſome compariſon: but in yours, if in the one ſcale you put your wife advanced to the very gates of Eternity, enjoying the ſociety of Chriſt and the bleſſed ſouls, free from every thing that may occaſion either grief or fear; in the other ſcale place your ſelf, deſtitute of thoſe commodities which a happy matrimony prolonged for ſome more years might adde unto you, there will be found no weight in your part of the balance, the beam will not ſtand at all, but ſpeedily turn with the great weight on the other ſide, as if on yours were nothing. What if I acquit you from this compariſon, and convince you that your incommodities weighed by themſelves are nothing really, but only in opinion? For wherein is he more unhappy who hath loſt a wife, then he who never had one? In opinion there is ſome difference, for the memory of the thing once poſſeſſed repreſents the image, the image excites the deſire: but this is the judgement of the lower bench, we may appeal. Let your Reaſon

Reaſon aided by ſo much experience, and inſtructed by ſo much reading, ſit in the Judgement-ſeat and pronounce the ſentence. That which is paſt, is not; and therefore can have no efficiency: nothing is ours but whileſt we have it; afterward it pertains no more unto us, then that which is fartheſt from us. Really then, He that never had, and he that now hath not, are in the like caſe; but that he ſeems the more ingratefull, who from the benefit he once enjoyed takes an occaſion to complain. Would you therefore ſee, how not miſerable you are? Look upon ſo many thouſands of men, who to their laſt years have willingly and by their own choiſe lived a ſingle life: in which number are many learned men, pious, prudent, and ſuch as were not ignorant either of the good or evill wherewith married men are attended. Wives are helps and comforts to their husbands: but they muſt be likewiſe helped and comforted. And if the burden be equally divided, there is no more in one whole burden, then in half of that which is double to it. Such is the nature of the contract, that it laies the harder bond upon the men, to whoſe protection the infirmer ſex commends it ſelf. One in the Greek Comedy, if God ſhould

offer him a double body, ſaith he would refuſe the favour; his reaſon is, becauſe with multiplicity of the parts his care would be multiplied. It is indeed a pleaſant thing in proſperity to have one to whom you may do good: but the more favourably fortune fils your ſails, the more you muſt contract them, and take heed leſt even in the greateſt innocence your behaviour give colour and occaſion unto Calumny, which doth cloſely purſue men of higher fortunes. If any adverſity befall you, it is true the wife partakes of the ſorrow, but it returns and lies heavier upon the husband: as the rayes of the Sun reflected from the ground do the more inflame the air. The Grief derived from a dear perſon whom you behold grieving for you, is more grievous then the primitive. I alledge not theſe things as if I had undertaken the *Encomium* of a ſingle life: it is enough for me to ſhew, that ſeeing either life hath its commodities tempered and mixt with the incommodities, it becomes every one, with an equall and indifferent minde, to conform himſelf to that lot and condition that hath befallen him. The laſt pretence of grief is the moſt ſpecious, in reſpect of children whoſe education, when the care is

divided

divided between the two parents, proceeds the better. This is ſomewhat, but herein hath God abundantly provided for you. You are a man of unwearied vigour; and if you pleaſe to uſe your whole ſtrength, able to ſupply the place of both ſexes: Cut off from your buſineſſes and ſtudies ſo much as that charge requires, yea, think that charge to be the beſt ſtudy and buſineſſe. Matters of moſt conſequence execute your ſelf, the leſſer commit to others: and as oft as you can, viſit your ſweet children with your paternall eye, now alſo ſerving for the maternall. And look upon the great ſupporters of your Houſe, your moſt gracious King, by whom your diligence and truſt are well tried, and therefore well eſteemed; Your honourable employment, your eſtate vertuouſly acquired, your kindred, alliance, friends, flouriſhing and proſperous. You ſee if any acceſſion ſhall be made unto your labour, how great comforts are given you aforehand. Moreover, that very labour will decreaſe under your hand, whenas every one of your children ſhall ripen in years, ſo he will ſucceed into the care both of himſelf and the reſt. But how little of juſtice there is in your complaint of this burthen, you may even hereby underſtand. Had your

Wife left you a houſe empty of children, I beleeve as the cuſtome is, you would ſay,

O hadſt thou left ſome might me father call,
O for one childe to play about my Hall!

But had ſome Prophet foretold before your marriage day, You ſhall, for many years have a happy and peaceable enjoyment of your wife, only you know one of you muſt needs outlive the other: this indulgence ſhall be yielded to the more tender ſex, that ſhe may not mourn for you. Chooſe whether you pleaſe, by her and after her to be called Father, or no. You would have anſwered, I doubt not, Let me have, when I can have her no longer, O let me have ſome living images of her, and ſucceſſors of our common fortunes.

Riches then unhappy are,
When they do not finde an heir.

Well then, what is it that compels you, or I may ſay, permits you to grieve? Your wife? But ſhe is bleſſed. A widowers ſtate which is impoſed on you? The ſingle life hath adventured at all times to compare it ſelf with wedlock, in point of felicity. Children? You would not be without them; if you were

were childleſſe, you would be more ſorrowfull. And do you now grieve becauſe you are not childleſſe? It is great morosity, to accuſe and complain of every fortune. But if this diſcourſe may ſeem too rigid and ſevere, I will be a little more remiſſe, and grant that ſome adverſity is befallen you; yet will I thereby evince, that you have reaſon to rejoyce. That the power and the wiſdom of God are unlimited, we do all acknowledge. Hence it follows, nothing can happen without his knowledge who is omniſcient, without his permiſſion who is omnipotent. Whatſoever he either doth or permitteth, he hath good reaſon for it. God hath care of all things, but not equally, becauſe they are not equall. According to the ſeverall degrees of things, there be degrees of Providence. He governs with a more carefull hand the affairs of men, then of inferiour creatures. And among all mankinde, he hath a nearer inſpection over Kings, and other Rulers of the Nations, who are, as it were, earthly ſtars, from whoſe influence either the tempeſts of warre, or the calms of peace deſcend upon the people. But above all, moſt dear unto that ſupream Goodneſſe

are faithfull Christians. The divine pleasure is, that Kingdoms themselves should be serviceable to them: and in all constitutions through the whole world, they are favoured with a singular respect. Therefore, even those things are for them, which seem against them: according to that immutable decree, *All things fall out for the best to those that purely worship God.* Nor may we wonder, if God keeps them not delicately but under discipline. This is a fathers part. Either they must be purged by some sharp and nimble medicine, if they have contracted any contagion from the multitude with whom they converse; or, before the disease take hold upon them, the souls health must be preserved by some wholsome, though bitter, potion; or else, the souldier of God is to be proved by encountring with an enemy, that himself may perceive, and others may not be ignorant what a proficient he is. Matters of difficulty are provided for the exercise and illustration of every vertue. God hath alwaies set godly men to such a task: but he justly exacteth more from Christian men, who by the very ensign of the Cross are given to understand,

ſtand, upon what terms they are admitted into ſervice. The chief Captain himſelf having made his way to heaven by patience, and ſtruggled through many ſufferings, hath conſecrated the ſame way for us. The ſouldier that is not called forth into any danger, may fear, his Commander holds him in ſmall eſteem. And who would not couragiouſly deſcend into that combate, wherein there is a certain reward for him that conquers, and certain conqueſt for him that fights? For he that is the Rewarder, is alſo a Helper, he ſhews the crown, he ſupplieth arms. Nor need we excuſe our ſelves by pretence of weakneſſe. The moſt equal Arbiter and Judge of the field, doth ſo fitly match every combatant, that he calleth forth none to fight, but whom he knows able or will make ſo. He can no more deny his heavenly aid to the man that praies aright, then a loving and wealthy father can deny bread to his ſon, that asketh it when he is hungry. How many of the old Philoſophers, how many alſo of a lower rank, having but ordinary encouragements and ſupports, have ſubdued Sorrow? and ſhall we, who are neither deſtitute of the uſe of reaſon, nor of the ſuccours of good learning, and beſides

are assured of that excellent and peculiar aid from heaven, turn our back and yield to any calamity how great soever? That can become no man, and you least of all, most honoured Sir, you are advanced to an eminent place, where you shine both by your own light, and by that which you borrow from the Majesty of your King. Whatsoever you do is conspicuous, and goes into example. Let it be hereafter said; Bear your wifes death as *Maurier* did. Nor may you fear being suspected for to have loved your wife lesse, if you mourn lesse. Keep her vertues in your memory, deliver them to your children, and as you can by ingenuous and glorious monuments propagate them to posterity. These are truer Tokens of your love, then to do what she would not have you. Among all nations the Wills of the deceased are sacred and inviolate, and not only such as are declared in word, or committed to writing, but also if by probable arguments we can conjecture what their wills were. You are not ignorant what her will was, and what she desires now, if in that place of rest there be any care of our affairs; to wit, that you may pass the remainder of your life with greatest felicity, and never think on her

her but with a quiet, and (if it may be) a joyfull minde. The ſame you muſt ſuppoſe to be the Kings pleaſure, whom it concerns, that both in body and minde you may be ſtrong and healthy. To add any more might ſeem to proceed from a diffidence of your wiſdom and courage. What I have ſaid, how much better could you ſay to your ſelf? and ſo, I hope, you have done. It would be a joy to me to have performed my duty, and that you needed it not. Nor will it be unpleaſant to you, to be aſſured of your friends fidelity by the ſuccours offered, although yourvictory atchieved, ſooner then was hoped, hath made them of no uſe.

Lupiſten, 11 *Calend.*
Mar. *An.* 1621.

THE END.